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the Afro-Asian Journalist

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* FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY AND UNDERSTANDING
* ANTI — IMPERIALIST AND ANTI — COLONIALIST.

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THE SPARK

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND THE ANTI-COLONIALIST | PAN-AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL

DEDICATED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR TOTAL LIBERATION AND ABSOLUTE UNITY OF AFRICA

THE SPARK, P.O. BOX M 24, ACCRA, GHANA.

A BAROMETER for ANTI IMPERIALISM

By
Joesoef
Deputy
Secretary-General

Is it true that our organisation, the AAJA, is an isolationist movement?
Is it true that the AAJA splitted the international anti-imperialist forces?

Just after the celebration of its first anniversary, when the fighting journalists of Afro-Asia from all corners of the two continents celebrated the first AAJ Day on April 24, there bursted forth from certain elements a slanderous attack directed towards our organisation. We would like to stress here that this caviling and slanderous attitude is the sole possession of certain elements only — since there are many international anti-imperialist forces who take a completely different revolutionary stand.

We would like to utilise this editorial, in spite of the limited space, to explain again about "what" and "why" is the AAJA. The AAJA is the legitimate child of the Bandung Spirit. If the Afro-Asian peoples, including their journalists, have mutual feelings to unite in regional organisations, that only means that this is due only to objective necessity and to the objective conditions in these two continents. And both these are the historical, economic, cultural and political heritage of the Afro-Asian peoples which generally are the same.

The movements of unity of the Afro-Asian peoples are generated by the mutual destiny of the past, and the mutual heritage of the future. Tens of years have passed, and now it is still continuing, the Afro-Asian peoples have been and are still suffering under imperialism. While the peoples outside the Afro-Asian continents got to know, got "acquainted" with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from text-books and news, the Afro-Asian peoples, and their offspring, their children, have come to know intimately and experienced bitterly what imperialism is, through actual physical contacts.

In which part of the world does imperialism headed by the US explode the fire of wars, launch aggressions, subversions and interventions? Is it not in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

The question at the present time, as to the areas of war, where local wars are taking place, where imperialism is the most rampant, aggressive and vicious, where it is meeting its doom — its Waterloo — is not, and never will be decided in the ante-chambers and drawing rooms of Europe — the whole of Europe.

On the contrary, when we objectively look at the world today, then we can only answer that it is in Africa-Asia and Latin America, where the future of imperialism and colonialism will be decided.

Have a look at Angola, Mozambique, "portuguese" Guinea, Algeria, Kenya, South Africa, the Arab countries, South Vietnam, Japan, Indonesia, Kalimantan Utara, Korea, Cambodia, etc., etc. Is this not a powerful factor to stir deeply and properly the willingness of these Afro-Asian peoples for unity,-to form a common force to face a common enemy, namely the diabolic imperialists? This is what made the Afro-Asian peoples come together nine years ago in Bandung, and draw up the famous, pertinent, revolutionary Bandung Principles, which acted as a basis for the struggle of liberation of the Afro-Asian peoples. This Bandung elan has flourished, and has nurtured the anti-imperialist forces and anti-imperialist organisations which have come into being, thanks to the initiative of the peoples in Afro-Asia. Is it correct to smear these revolutionary anti-imperialist peoples' movements as isolationalist? Or as splitters of the international anti-imperialist movements? It would be really laughable and funny, if it was not so provocative and dangerous!

The reality of the half of this century, is the reality of revolutions that have swept and are sweeping the AAA continents with huricane swiftness.

This reality is so potent, that it is the barometer for all the revolutionary activity of every conscious fighter — whether he is in Afro-Asia-Latin America or not.

We assert that in the objective contemporary world situation, a person or a movement can only be qualified truly revolutionary and anti-imperialist if his

A Further Wish Of Success

On behalf of the South Vietnam peoples, on behalf of the Liberation National Front and on my behalf, I would like to extend to the Secretariat of the AAJA, to the Redaction and to all their officials and readers of AAJ my warmest greetings.

I am sure that the birth of the AAJA means the birth of the voice of justice of the AA peoples who are undomitably struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for national independence and strengthening the militant solidarity among the peoples of the two continents.

I wish you many brilliant successes.

NGUYEN HUU THO
Chairman — Presidium, Central Committee National Liberation Front of South Vietnam

Editorial Continued

primary concern and loyalty above everything else is his firm solidarity with the AAA peoples' struggle. The revolutionary grade of any individual or movement in the five continents today can only be measured by his loyalty to the struggle of the AAA peoples and by his recognition of the fact, the plain fact, that the AAA peoples' struggle is a correct and just one and is the very quintessence of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle in the world today.

The criterion for any AA movement to be dubbed isolationalist — is not the exclusion or inclusion within its ranks of one or two countries. It is its political attitude towards the AAA struggle which is the barometer, the testing grade, the passing mark. For anyone to use any other criterion, is to fall prey to isolationism itself ! And we emphasize here, that we, journalists who are part and parcel of the AA peoples have taken our vow to be loyal and fight together with the AAJA against imperialism and colonialism. Every anti-imperialist and every revolutionary activity, whether independently or jointly brought into existence cannot be smeared as isolationist. Every anti-imperialist struggle of the AA peoples always becomes a revolutionary contribution to the international anti-imperialist front.

Let us reiterate the attitude of the AAJA, namely its inevitable willingness to help and cooperate with all AA organisations or with other fraternal organisations based on anti-imperialist principles and on mutual respect and non-interference. On this clear-cut anti-imperialist stand, we warmly hail the results of the MMAA II and the Third AAFF in Djakarta and Sixth Session of..Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council in Algiers. The AAJA is determined to actively take part in supporting the execution of the revolutionary decisions of the three important meetings mentioned above. And on this basis of our anti-imperialist principles we hail "African Liberation Day" on May 25th-as has been decided by the Conference of African Heads of State in Addis Ababa. We never can and never dare regard this movement for African unity as an isolationist movement. African Unity based on anti-imperialist principles is really strengthening the international anti-imperialist front all over t he world. We dare these provocative cavilers who bluster and fluster at anything regional to accuse the OAU as isolationists !

It is obvious that we are not going to be stopped or be disturbed in our work because of the provocations mentioned. By these slanderous attacks on us, an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist organisation, the perpetrators only expose themselves, as being isolationists themsleves. Their caviling stand is rather the sum total of an attitude which does not brook any attitude that is contrary to their erroneous stand, or which does not come under their "protective" wing. Such an attitude is not conducive to our AAA Revolution, and is rather a negation of the Bandung elan, and the principles that bind the AAA peoples so granite like.

The AAJA will go on. The AAJA will popularise its organisation. The AAJA will further strengthen itself into a militant, mighty anti-imperialist organisation in the journalistic field. As an African saying goes : The storms might rage, the horses might neigh, but the waggon of freedom will go rolling along.

A.A. Journalists Celebrate A.A. Journalists' Day

One of the many meetings:
1.500 Afro-Asian Journalists from various countries celebrated A.A.J. Day in Peking where they heard Djawoto (Secretary-General) Mei Yi (China) and M. Ali (Zanzibar) review the years achievements of the A.A.J.A.

On the 24th of April, 1955, in the city of Bandung, Indonesia, one of the greatest and most historic events, that reshaped the world forces and which forcefully placed a new Afro-Asia on the world map, took place. 29 Afro-Asian heads of State met and passed the famous Ten Principles of Bandung and Five Principles of Co-existence. That day became historic and unforgettable in the annals of Afro-Asian history.

Exactly 8 years later, also in the famous city of Bandung, Indonesia, the AAJA was founded. It was during these days that the famous Djakarta Declaration was adopted by delegates of 47 Afro-Asian journalists' organisations and members.

This day was proclaimed as Afro-Asian Journalists' Day by the Secretariat of the AAJA at its meeting at Gadog, Indonesia in December 1963.

Our experiences teach us that the struggle against the rights and the liberties of the peoples mostly start by attacks against the freedom of the Press. Our experiences also teach us that as Afro-Asian journalists, our struggle for a free Press, and our struggle to promote and maintain complete freedom of the Press in and for the interests of the people, and to coordinate and foster the spirit of cooperation among Afro-Asian journalists in order to create new societies, peaceful, just, prosperous and free from all exploitation in Asia-Africa in particular Afro-Asia and in the world in general, and our endeavours in doing our work to bring out the Truth, and our dedication to fostering the spirit and elan of the Bandung Conference of 1955, CANNOT be separated from our day to day struggle against the very virus that makes our life so difficult, that mostly controls our Press, and which unleashes war and persecution against expounders of the Truth.

Our experiences finally teach us that this enemy, is our common enemy, Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism led by the USA.

The AAJA in its one year existence has supported the just struggle for independence and liberation of the heroic peoples and journalists of Angola, South Africa, South Vietnam, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Basutoland etc. We have fully supported the Cambodian peoples and journalists in their struggle for neutrality and peace and have vigorously protested against the attempts of interference in the revolutionary cause of the Zanzibari peoples, etc.

The AAJA assures all persecuted AA journalists that it will step up its efforts to expose and oppose all the schemes and machinations of Imperialism and colonialism led by the USA and that it will soon effectively put into effect the other resolutions of the Main Conference.

A.A. Journalists Celebrate

In response to our call to our members to observe this day, either through celebrations, press conference and write-ups, various reports from several members and member unions have been received by the Secretariat. Unfortunately because of lack of space we cannot publish them all, but hope to do so in our next issues.

In Pakistan, the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists under the banner of AA Journalists Solidarity, celebrated Afro-Asian Journalists' Day in Karachi. In People's China a mass meeting of members of press circles in Peking, heard both African and Asian collegues outline the tasks, history and signifinance of the AAJA. Mei Yi, President of the All China Journalists' Association and Secretary-General Djawoto, who is now Indonesian Ambassador to People's China addressed the meeting.

Newspapers in China, Nepal, Japan, Pakistan, Indonesia, Vietnam, Iran, Ceylon etc all carried reports about AAJ Day.

Reports dealing with the observance of the AAJ Day have come in from Zanzibar, Basutoland, D.R. of Vietnam, Mali, D.R. of Korea, Nepal, Japan etc.

In Indonesia, the Indonesian Journalists Association celebrated the day by a meeting at their new offices. The meeting was addressed by L. Morrison, Tahsin and Supeno.

We publish below some points made in the speeches of Secretary-General Djawoto and Colleagues Mei Yi and L. Morrison, because of their pertinence and importance to our struggle as Afro-Asian Journalists.

DJAWOTO

Likewise, it is not a sentiment of regionalism which has encouraged me to express here my pleasure at the successes of the Asian-African Journalists' Conference and the establishment of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association which is a regional organisation, because during the conference not only the necessity of fostering Asian African Latin American solidarity was repeatedly confirmed, but broader than the international solidarity of the New Emerging Forces, on the basis of common interests and aims to fight imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the emancipation of newly independent peoples, for the liberation of colonial peoples and for the complete national independence of semi-colonial peoples.

It goes without saying that, to my mind, this regional foundation is of a very great importance, since there are many objective factors which show that the Afro-Asian peoples, who were once colonised or who are still living under semi-colonial rule or under complete foreign subjugation, possess similarities of experience and common destiny and are striving for the realisation of ideals which are basically the same in the framework of establishing a new peaceful world which is free from all kinds of imperialism and from the exploitation of man by man.

MEI YI

We are also happy to state that the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association has made untiring efforts to carry out the Djakarta Conference resolutions and to meet the demand for vocational activities. The second meeting of the Secretariat discussed the establishment of a news centre, an official Association journal, a college of journalism, and so on.

The second meeting of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalisas' Association decided to form a monetary foundation to aid the families of progessive journalists who are persecuted by the imperialists and their agents We Chinese journalists, have responded actively to the Association's call, and have decided to start collecting funds among ourselves.

The imperialists have always been hostile to the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa. Their propaganda machine smeared and attacked.

What is strange, however, is that some leaders of journalists organizations who profess to be "anti-imperialist" and "anti-colonialist" and to "support the Asian and African peoples" took part in this chorus. They slandered the Conference as being without achievements, and vilified it, saying that unity was split there. They shouted "undemocratic", "formalism", and so on. These people take exactly the same stand as the imperialists and reactionaries, joining in the dirty work, totally betraying the hope placed in them by Asian and African journalists, casting themselves on to the rubbish heap of splittism.

MORRISON

If imperialism has changed, it has changed its tactics and strategems. The enemy is becoming sometimes more and more difficult to detect and isolate, especially under local or international guise, he is reestablishing himself or strengthening his hold on the countries of Africa and Asia that have acquired political independence, sometimes profiting from the difficulties necessarily arising from the reconversion of colonial and semi feudal economic administrative and social structures.

The definition of this strategy and tactic constitutes one of our basic tasks. Thus, we journalists and other cadres who are tools of the revolution will be better armed ideologically to meet the enemy and his allies. We will be able to establish a sharp and clear demarcation line between the partisans of national independence and freedom and the reactionaries on the other hand. We will then know how to deflate the false ideologies of neo-colonialism. We must know the inner contradictions, forces and tactics of neo colonialism. The comprehension of the reality of neo-colonialism, the precise study of the means it employs, the isolation of the elements that give it support in our countries, demands a constant work of investigation and clarification. It is here in this field where the AAJA and all its members must and can take a lead.

THE PRINCIPAL TASKS OF THE CAMBODIAN PRESS

by

Hu Nim

(Vice President : Cambodian Journalists Association).

The principal tasks of the patriotic press of our country is to support the internal programme of the policy of independence, neutrality and peace, the policy advocated by the leader of the Khmer people, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk with clear sightedness and energy and to support the foreign programme to strengthen the anti-imperialist front.

Brothers from all friendly countries know full well that it is only eleven years since the Khmer people, under the leadership of H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, have been able to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia not without confronting the worst difficulties created by the imperialists and the governments of the neighbouring countries who are devoted to the imperialists. This eleven years of struggle now is written in the history of Cambodia fully with bright victories to the Khmer people against international reactionary forces, colonialism in all its aspects and against imperialism headed by U.S.A.

The patriotic press of Cambodia has participated actively in this struggle.

This bright victory of the Khmer people is due to their polarisation around their leader, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, to a far sighted policy and, lastly, to the powerful support given Cambodia by all friendly peoples, the peace loving peoples, the anti-imperialist forces. especially the Afro-Asian-Latin American peoples.

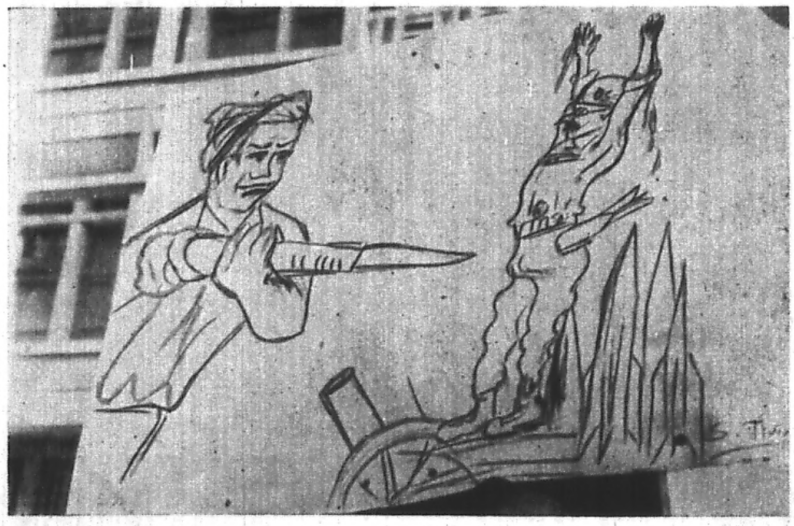
We still remember the day after the Geneva Agreement when Cambodia chose the road of neutrality and peace, the U.S. government openly interfered in the internal affairs of Cambodia. The U.S. imperialists used all means, in the framework of one military pact which claimed to be defensive but which was in fact aggressive — the SEATO — to destroy Cambodian neutrality abetted through the agency of their treacherous tools. The Siemreap plot of 1959 aimed at overthrowing the legal government and replacing it with the agents of the CIA, representatives of the puppet government of Saigon and traitors such as Dap Chhuon, Slat Peou and Co. were engineered. Criminal attempts were launched such as to assassinate Their Majesties the King and the Queen ; repeated violations of the integrity of our territory; support to the Khmer Serei or the said "Free Khmer" rebels, by supplying them with all materials, arms, credit ..... are some of the direct forms of intervention of the U.S. imperialists against Cambodia !

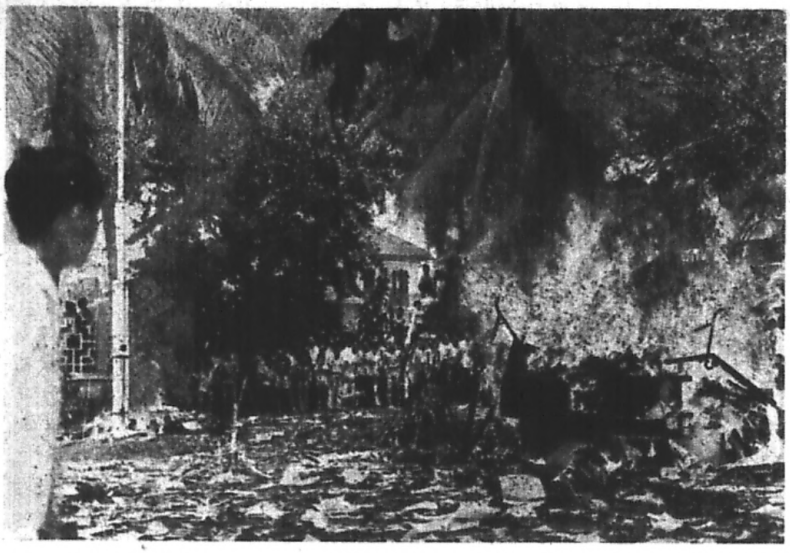
To all this, we must add the U.S. aid which aimed not at helping Cambodia in its proper territorial defence, the development of its independent economy, but of enslaving it in the military, economic and cultural fields and by bridaling it gradually to the horsecart of the imperialists.

These criminal and sinister manoeuvres and dangerous interventions ; repeated violations at the frontier, criminal acts committed against our peaceful frontier peasants ; attempts to assasinate H.R.H. Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, recrudescence of the "Free Khmer" which intensified their campaign of sabotage, division and incitement of civil war ..... and compelled the Khmer people to renounce all U.S. aid in November 1963, to resolutely re-construct their economy so as to further consolidate their national independence and safeguard their territorial integrity.

Following the repudiation of U.S. aid and the re-construction of the economy of Cambodia, the imperialists and their servants, in and outside the country, unveiled their masks. A great comprador and agent of U.S. imperialism, Songsakd, ex-director of the Phnom

CAMBODIANS SHOWING THEIR ANTI — IMPERIALIST STAND ! THE US. EMBASSY and Property being destroyed. MASSIVE demonstrations and anti — Imperialist slogans.





Penh Bank, fled to South Vietnam. And so, U.S. imperialists and their lackeys lost a tremendous internal supporter in Cambodia. A counter-revolutionary "Association" had been revealed, — declared H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk in his message January 17, 1964 to the Khmer nation.

What he meant by the "Association" is a combination of international elements bound together by traitors and include "U.S.A.-Thailand-Formosa-South Vietnam-Khmer Serei or the said Free Khmer-Songsakd and their allies inside Cambodia". Members of this "Association" are working jointly both by means and action against the Head of the State of Cambodia and the Khmer people to destroy national unity and to sabotage our policy of peace.

Thanks to our unity and to the energy of H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and thanks to the full support of all friendly peoples, the Khmer people have gained victory after victory against imperialism and its servants.

In the eyes of the Khmer people, the imperialists headed by the U.S. are the enemies which *coute que coute* must be thrown out of Cambodia to enable the Cambodian people to live freely and peacefully. The great historic demonstration of March 11th 1964 against the Anglo-American imperialistis in Phnom Penh when the U.S. and British embassies were sacked expressed clear proof. This spontaneous manifestation displayed itself after the Khmer people had exhausted their patience-when the Anglo-American imperialists used perfidious means to sabotage the international conference guaranteeing the neutrality and the territorian integrity of Cambodia, a conference proposed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The imperialists have not abandoned their plan of aggression against Cambodia. Their repeated crimes against the peaceful frontier peasants the most serious which was committed last March 19 by the U.S. and South Vietnamese against Chantrea village in the Svay-Rieng province, and where they used combined US/South Vietnam forces, the air force and army, is an apt example. They killed, bombarded and attacked our peasants. Seventeen were killed and there were many other casualties — this is the balance sheet of an unshameful cowardly crime-of US/S. Vietnamese "friendship".

Never before have the Khmer people been so united and supported their leader, Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The Khmer people are also united with all other peace loving peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who oppose their common enemy to liberate themselves completely in order to further consolidate their national independence. The Cambodian people fully realise that their struggle constitutes an intergral part of this vast movement for national liberation.

The patriotic Press of Cambodia has taken an active part in this struggle to safeguard the independence, neutrality and peace of the country. Together with the Khmer people and their Head of State, the patriotic Press works in strengthening the solidarity with the peace loving peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America constituting one common front against one common enemy of all peoples : imperialism. It is in this framework that the Association de la Presse du Cambodge has participated in the first Asian-African Journalists' Conference and has adhered to the Djakarta Delaration of April 1963.

All revolutionary journalists of the world must unite their efforts in the struggle which hurls the peace loving peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against their common enemy : imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all forms and manifestations. They must unite and work hand in hand for the realisation of happiness, prosperity and peace for all peoples.

We would like to, behalf of the Association de la Presse du Cambodge, express our gratitude to the AAJA for the wide diffusion of the Appeal of Cambodian journalists and organs and Press to all Afro-Asian and other friendly countries requesting their support for the Cambodian struggle.

Children .....

16 dead, 14 wounded, mostly women and children.

The scene — the defenceless village of Chantrea.

The time — Thursday, March 19, 1964.

The murderers — South Vietnamese troops and Yankee officers. The reason — open aggression and attempts to intimidate Cambodia.

All of us are furiously angry as was stated by Samdech Euv in his messages to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the USSR and the President of the French Republic, at this "new and very brutal aggression of the US—South Vietnamese Ground and Air Forces". It is a calamity that afflicted all peace-loving people to see these compatriots bombarded, shot and killed. All of us suffered deeply to see these barbaric troops marching on the dead bodies of these innocent people. These savages shot a woman with her children, looted some money that belonged to these poor peasants which they had collected through their sweat.....

This time there is no error. No possible error, since a few months ago these imperialists and their servants have just commited the same act in the vicinity of this spot, namely at Kauk Tek, in the same province of Srok. Samdech Euv has stated precisely in his three important messages that "there is close relation between the daily appeals of the South Vietnam government press against Cambodia and their acts of war", especially because these foul acts were commited almost simultanously at Svey Rieng, Takeo and Kampot.

It was two airplanes of "Skyraider" type of the South Vietnamese Army which launched the attack on Thursday, March 19, 1964, against the village of Chantrea, which is not protected by any garrison troops. They dropped four bombs, several rockets and there is no doubt that this was followed by other napalm bombs and grenade explosions. Several amphibian armoured wagons of

THE CHANTREA

South Vietnam penetrated into the village, firing and killing 16 dead and 14 wounded, more than half the number women and children. The 5 helicopters accompanied the wagons and reached the centre of the village. Three Americans came out of these helicopters. The Cambodian authorities demanded their cards and asked them the necessary requirements. After several hours the armoured Vietnamese wagons withdrew towards the border line making a little detour to avoid the Cambodian small post of Kan Tek which is guarded only by two dozen frontier guards. At

Fathers .....

noon, two other armoured Vietnamese wagons were known to be moving towards the village of Prey Var. The Cambodian Air Force had meanwhile arrived at the sector and shot down an observer Vietnamese Air Force airplane which was within the Cambodian area. At 1 o'clock p.m. members of the International Commission arrived for a report of the raid carried out by several helicopters at Chantrea. By miracle, all the apparatus and the "instruments" of the helicopter were undamaged.

MASSACRE

Homes .....

Fields and Cattle .....

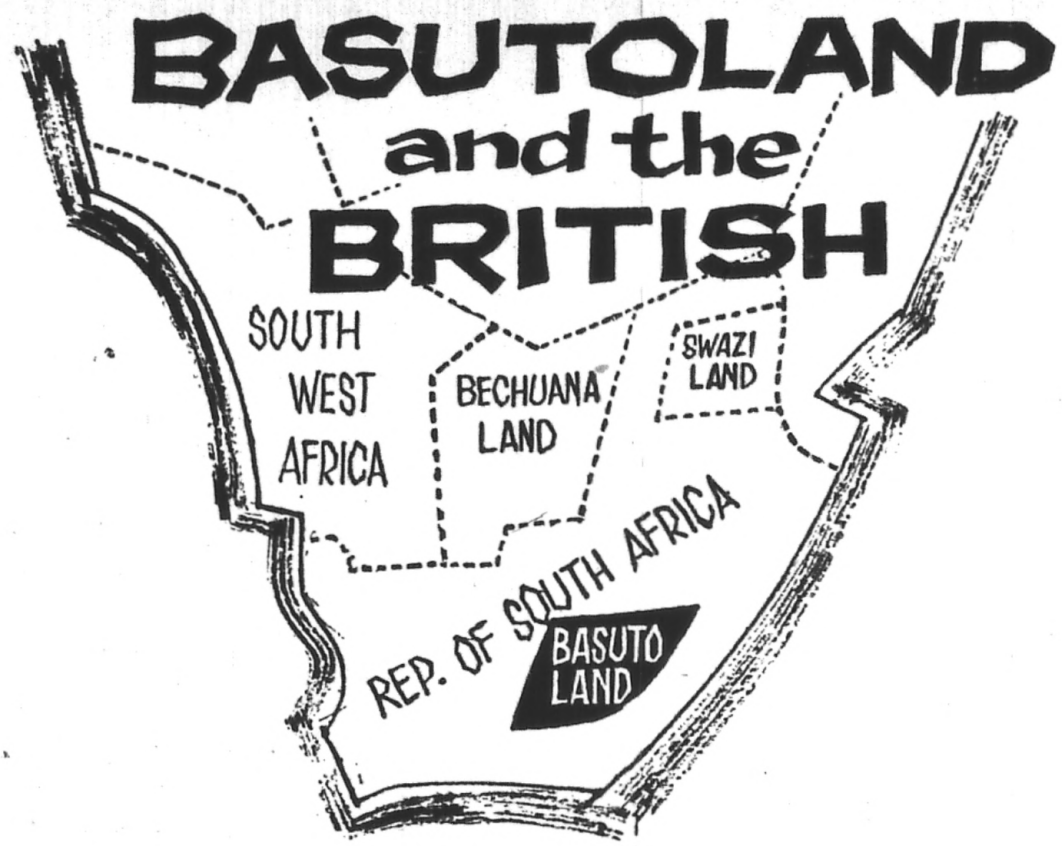
Mothers .....

This notorious operation was launched by Combined forces, the ground and the air forces. They consisted of 5 helicopters, 4 two-engine bombers and 12 amphibious armoured wagons which, supplied by the imperialists, attacked for almost two hours. After systematically engaging in a violent Press campaign, the imperialists chose the moment when Cambodia was not in a position to have any quarrels with Saigon, and by this attack they wanted to show the Cambodian people the limitations of this "pocket kingdom", and also they wanted to impress on the people that they were able to destroy this small country in a few hours.

This aggression is nothing but an open aggression against the "small" Cambodia, the neutral and independent Cambodia. This aggression, as had been specified by the Declaration of the Royal Government of Cambodia justifies plainly the belief of Cambodia regarding the attitude of the Anglo-American Imperialists, that is to sabotage and prevent the meeting of the Conference of Geneva to guarantee the neutrality and the borders of the Kingdom.

Once again, the American Imperialists and their servants at Saigon unveiled their masks. In the eyes of the Cambodians, as also in the eyes of all peoples who are waging a struggle in safeguarding their independence, these imperialists are the real enemies. The essential thing is that we must strengthen our front against this common enemy of the peace-loving and progress-loving peoples.

BASUTOLAND and the BRITISH



by
Qhobela Molapo

The negotiations which begun on the 20th April, 1964, between the Basutoland Constitutional Commission and the British Government on the granting of responsible government to Basutoland, marked a decisive step in the freedom-struggle of the people of this politically advanced British Protectorate in Southern Africa.

Basutoland (the size of Belgium) occupies what may perhaps be described as the most extraordinary geographical position in the world since it is entirely surrounded by the Bristish-created fascist smouldering pot of racial persecution — the South African Republic under Dr. H. Verwoerd. We have, in the past, often collided with a number of nervous and misguided political adventurers who openly express the fear that the Verwoerd military forces would overrun Basutoland 24 hrs after the termination of British colonial sovereignty over the territory.

The people of Basutoland are not ready to accept that negative outlook since they view the problem from an entirely different angle. Their conviction is that the success or failure of Basutoland's struggle for independence will have a direct bearing on the success or failure of the independence movement in Southern Africa as a whole. It is exclusively for this reason that the progressive British and world public opinion must know about the talks so as to guarantee a positive outcome of the talks.

If the British Government becomes unrealistic and decides to torpedo the independence move in Basutoland (which thing they are likely to do consequent upon their so-called dilemma in Southern Africa as a whole), they shall have indefinitely put back the clock for that whole African region. It is against this important back-ground that the freedom struggle in the three British Protectorates must be viewed.

This is in spite of our perfect awareness that the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America are supplying surplus arms (because Dr. Verwoerd has long ago satisfied his arms demand for internal suppression) to the South African Government in preparation for the future invasion of the High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Swaziland & Bechuanaland) after independence. Regardless of how strenuously this obvious fact might be denied, it must all the same be accepted as they refused to train the territorial armies even on a limited scale.

Ironically, the three British Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland which sought positive protection by the British Government against marauding forces of white settler fascism towards the close of the last century, are themselves virtually "protected" by the very S.A. settler army.

Indeed, these three are real protectorates because Britain firmly "protects" them against their own political advancement. These are but a few of hitherto unknown wicked designs of our "protector" in Southern Africa.

TOPOGRAPHY and DEMOGRAPHY !

SIZE : 11,716 square miles
An enclave completely ringed about by South Africa.

POPULATION :	**Africans**	**638,857**
	White	**1,926**
	Asians	**247**
	Coloureds	**244**
	Total	**641,674**

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPITAL : Maseru.
Basuto Capital : Matsieng.

MIGRANT LABOUR is Basutoland's chief export and source of income. 43% of the African male population is away at any one time, working on the Rand and Free State Gold mines, on farms and in South Africa's industry.

Well-watered country, with three main RIVER SYSTEMS : the Orange, Makhaleng and Caledon which all unite in South Africa to form the Orange. Yet there is practically no irrigation in the Territory. There are several schemes for HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER (the Ox-bow scheme, the Kau River scheme and the Semena River scheme) but all involve delivery of water to areas of the Free State where expanding industry needs it, and this would involve closer and more complex relations with South Africa.

Known MINERAL RESOURCES are few. The economy leans heavily on the cultivation of CROPS and raising of SHEEP AND GOATS for wool and mohair. Farming is mainly for subsistence (total agricultural output about £ 4 — £ 5 million a year, but exports worth only £ 300,000 in 1958). The livestock population has declined over the past 15 — 20 years, but, apart from mine labour, it is still the principal source of cash income.

The EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM is largely in the hands of three missions — the Paris Evangelical, the Roman Catholic and the English Church. There is only one government school in the Territory — the main technical trades school in Maseru. In grants-in-aid to non-denominational schools the Government pays one-fifth of the country's total annual revenue of £ 1,600,000 and a sixth of the total expenditure of £ 2,000,000.

Immediately after the Basutoland Constitutional Commission had published a Report as the basis for negotiations with Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the Colonial Office policy makers nervously and hysterically issued statements expressing "reservations" on the five most vital aspects of the proposed constitution for Basutoland, and over which important proposals there is likely to be a prolonged verbal and legal wrangle between the leaders of the Colonial Office and the Basutoland Constitutional Commission which is not only composed of the Chiefs but also the leaders of all political parties in Basutoland. This in itself is a very strong indication that the people of Basutoland as a whole do expect the British Government to adopt a realistic approach towards the solution of the problems inherent in their political, economic and social advancement.

The five important proposals are :- (a) The Headship of State, (b) Foreign Relations, (c) Defence, (d) Internal Security, and (e) The Executive Civil Service Commission. With incredible hypocrisy based on sheer exaggeration coupled with a deliberate distortion of innocent intentions, the policy makers of the British Colonial Office have already rejected a reasonable suggestion by the Basutoland Constitutional Commission that ..... *"The control of Defence, External Affairs, and Internal Security should, during the pre-independence period, be shared by Great Britain and Lesotho, with overriding — but carefully defined — powers of veto and certification in the hands of Great Britain."* (Emphasis mine).

This clear and straightforward suggestion is contained in Section 91 of the Report of the Basutoland Constitutional Commission on page 49.

Contrary to all the valid reasons recommending this desired change, the policy makers of the British Colonial Office have maliciously distorted this recommendation to imply that Her Majesty's Government would have been deprived of all necessary powers to discharge their sovereign obligations with regard to Basutoland.

Purposely blinding themselves to the grim realities of our unique geographical position (referred to above), the policy makers of the British Colonial Office are striving hard to mislead the British people and the whole world into believing that it is the first time that Her Majesty's Government was ever confronted with such a recommendation of this nature.

But what are the facts? Let us try to analyse them. (a) In Singapore (under the 1958 Constitution), defence, external affairs, and internal security were withdrawn from the competence of the Singapore authorities and made subject to a condominium. This was in accordance with the specific conditions prevailing in Singapore at the time. (b) In Malta (under the 1961 Constitution), a different arrangement to that existing in Singapore was adopted. Defence and external affairs were, in effect, "reserved" to Her Majesty's Government, subject to the delegation by that Government to the local organs on such terms as that Government might decide upon. It is important to note, however, that once delegated, these particular subjects fall into a condominium with Her Majesty's Government having overriding powers of veto and certification. Again we have to note that this was in accordance with the specific conditions which prevailed in the island of Malta at that time. It is important again to note that internal security was actually conceded to the Maltese Government, subject to "reservation of Bills for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure".

In Section 96 of the Report of the Basutoland Constitutional Commission, the Commissioners, who met Mr. Sandys on 20th April, clearly stated that the Singapore or the Maltese arrangement would not be entirely appropriate for Basutoland. Again taking into account the entirely different and specific conditions prevailing in Basutoland; — the Commission recommends that:

(i) The Basutoland Government, unlike the Maltese one, should be vested, right from the start, with responsibility with the whole range of Government, including Defence, External Affairs, Internal Security, the Public Service and Finance.

(ii) The range of condominium should extend to the undefined spheres of "defence, external affairs and internal security" — it being left to Her Majesty's and the Basutoland Government to decide what these topics embrace. Again the Commissioners stress the fact that the above arrangement should still be subject to overriding powers in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

Now it is important, therefore, to note that the wrong impression which the Colonial Office seeks to create in the minds of the British that these recommendations are so unique as to make it absolutely impossible for the British Government to discharge their "sovereign" responsibilities in Basutoland, must be rejected as false and constituting an alarmist outlook. Nor is that all. It would be a very serious error of judgement to imagine the perculiar problems confronting Basutoland can be solved within the framework of their constitutional dogmatism.

Whatever will be outcome of the talks, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and Colonies must make no mistake about the fact that the people of Basutoland are determined to get their freedom. Independence is a right, not a favour to be bestowed upon the people at the whim of a colonial power.

The constitutional talks have ended with various issue unsolved. We hope to bring our readers up to date in our next issue — editors.

THE PRESS!

Without doubt, the most militant newspaper in Basutoland is the organ of the Basutoland Congress Party called *"Makatolle"* which means "warrior". It stands in the forefront of the national democratic struggle in Basutoland. It is the only paper which has the courage to expose and challenge the British imperialist evils in Basutoland. It is widely read as it is published in both English and Sotho. There is also the International Division of this very paper published in both Accra and Cairo. The Editorial Board of this paper stands solidly behind the basic principles upon which the AAJA is based.

Their activities are based on the belief that African and Asian Journalists must exert common efforts for the attainment of the noble ideals I outlined in my message of greetings. In short this is the only paper which can rightly be regarded as the irresistable force which directs the inexorable current of the revolution in the country.

"Leselinyana La Lesotho", the oldest publication in this territory, is published by the P.E.M.S. (Paris Evangelical Mission Society). It meanders the neutral path, determined to demonstrate no support for any of the political organisations which have mushroomed in the past seven years. It concerns itself largely with its own mission work, some events in the British Empire and social activities of its church members. Written in both Sotho and English. Published at Morija. Largest circulation of all the papers recently put on a business basis. A fortnightly.

Moeletsi Oa Basotho : The Catholic paper, this is the most mischievous paper in Basutoland. All Non-Catholic thought, all these are anathema (a word freely bandied by both church and its adherents) to *Moeletsi*. It covers the Legislature's debates almost verbatim and comment is almost invariably full of recrimination and misrepresentation. *Moeletsi* supports without qualification, the "BASUTOLAND NATIONAL PARTY" which, it had hoped would enjoy the unqualified support of the Chieftainship and would preserve the status quo. Needless perhaps to add *Moeletsi* is violently anti-Communist and Communism is seen lurking behind every bush. *Moeletsi* is partisan and goes on the rampage from time to time against all and sundry who belong to political parties which are indiscriminately labelled "Communist". *Moeletsi* is also the deadly enemy of secularists and insists that education must be permanently controlled by the church, especially in Basutoland. Published in Sotho and English.

Basutoland News is concerned mainly with the expatriate (living in the Republic) families' social activities, and also reminiscences of the past days in Basutoland. Some coverage is given of court cases but the paper is largely involved and uncommitted, except that occasionally admonishments are made to Basotho politicians to beware of their language and threats of treason and sedition Published in Ficksburg in English Small circulation, used mainly as a licence advertising medium.

Mohlabani : Owned by B.M. Khaketla, who, until the end of 1960 was Deputy Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party and is an Executive member of the Legislature. Written and translated into both Sotho and English. It represented, for a long time, the forward-looking and progressive opinion of the Basotho. It has been known to tackle the Basutoland Administration on a wide variety of political subjects, especially the administration's failure to facilitate Africanisation of the civil serice. *Mohlabani* has advocated "Constitutional Advance" for Basutoland with greater participation of the Basotho in the Legislature.

Lentsoe La Basotho (The Basuto World) : The Sotho version of the World which also runs Swazi and Bechuana counterpants for these territories. High circulation, about 26,000 a week and the only newsy publication in the Territory. Has wide coverage of events. Weekly in Sotho and English. The English magazine section is the *African Echo*.

RELEASE Wang Wei - cheng Chu Ching - tung.

World wide Protests grow..

The continued illegal detention and maltreatment of Wang Wei Chen, Hsinhua News agency correspondent in Brazil and Chu Ching-tung his assistant, by the Brazilian coup-d'etat authorities is a gross violation of human rights and the freedom of the press.

In a very strong worded statement the Secretariat of the AAJA denounced the illegal arrests, demanded the immediate release of the two journalists and called on all Afro-Asian and Latin American journalists who value freedom to raise their voices high and rally to the call of the AAJA demanding the release of our Chinese colleagues.

In responce to our urgent call to all Afro-Asian journalists and journalists unions, there has been world wide protests to the Brazilian coup d'etat authorities demanding the release of Wang Wei Chen, Chu Ching-tung and the other Chinese arrested.

This wonderful and friendly response of the Afro-Asian, Latin American other journalists colleagues and unions, and their support for the demand of the release of Wang Wei Chen and Chu Ching-tung is a definitive indication of the close fraternal and rock-like unity that binds the Afro-Asian journalists together, and is clear proof of the revolutionary basis that unites us.

As we are going to press, more and more protests are pouring in. Although Wang Wei Chen and Chu Ching-tung has not yet been released or even brought to trial, we are confident that through the continued growing world wide protests that the cause of freedom and solidarity will be the final victor. What however is quite obvious, and this notwithstanding what some people have been trying to peddle and sell to us, is that the coup is a reactionary one, instigated by the US imperialists.

We once more call on all our members and member unions to continue their demands for the release of our two journalists colleagues, and expose the reactionary nature and the dependence on US imperialism, of the coup d'etat authorities.

Below we publish some protests :

PAN AFRICAN JOURNALISTS UNION

* Urged the Brazilian coup d'etat authorities to release Wang Wei-Chen and Chu Ching-tung immediately. Kofi Batsa, general secretary issued — the statement.

CAMBODIA

* The President of the Cambodian Journalists' Association, Chau-seng, declared that Cambodian journalists would launch a campaign in support of the arrested Chinese personnel. The arrest had violated human rights and freedom of the press, he said : "Such an arbitrary violation of international practice is against the conscience of democratic people of the whole world".

Son Phuoi tho. director of Meatopnum and first Vice President of the C.J.A., and U Vann-editor of La Depeche du Cambodge. the journal Mien Hoa, Cong Shang daily, Kwai pao, Mekong Daily, Vabpator. Dam Noeung. Sagkhim Monus Meotophom. Sanh hao ou bao, Trung all voiced strong protests at the arrests.

ARGENTINA

* The Journalists' Association of Argentina's Entrerios province sent a message to Provisional President of Brazil Castelo Branco demanding the release of Hsinhua correspondents, and stated that the arrest "were without any proper reason".

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

* Dipanda — the Congolese weekly said in an commentary : the arbitrary arrests have aroused indignation of the people of the world over. There is world wide protest with the demand for the release of these Chinese citizens. — Dipanda which is for peace and friendship between peoples cannot but join the voice of protest against this act of banditry.

LAOS

* All staff members of the Laotian paper Laohaksat and the radio of the Pathet Lao fighting units held a meeting in Sam Heua and protested against the illegal arrests.

Sisana Sisan, editor of the Lachaksat, sent a cable on behalf of the patriotic Laotian journalists which said "What You have done showed that your system is a downright dictatorial system of a lackey of US imperialism.

SYRIA

* AL BAATH, the Syrian newspaper, said that arrest of the Chinese journalists encroached upon the freedom of the press and constituted a serious threat to journalists all over the world. It violated international law and practice, the paper added.

* Abou kosse, Secretary of the AAJA called for the forthwith release of the two colleagues.

NEPAL

* The chairman of the Nepal Journalists Association. Phathe Bahadur Singh, in his statement pointed out that the Chinese journalists started their work in Brazil with the consent of the Brazillian authorities. the statement said that the arrest "is definitely a disregard of the basic principles of freedom of the Press".

* The journal MATR'BHUMI condemning the arrests stated "this is an extremely barbarous and imprudent act. Instead of favouring the cause of friendship between the Chinese and Brazillian peoples. it curries favour with U.S imperialism". The weekly SAPTAHIK SAMACHAR called the arrests shameful.

UGANDA

* The Uganda Journalists' Association, through its convener KINTU MUSOKE in a cable to the Brazillian military junta expressed abhorence and shock at the unjustified arrest and confinement of the Chinese journalists and demanded their release. The cable further stated that as fellow journalists charged with the duty of objective collection and dissemination of news from whatever source, feel that the action is not only a violation of individual freedom as contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also destroy the democratic rights of the profession of journalism.

* OMUKULEMBEZA. daily newspaper, condemning the arrests said : "We condemn this dirty action and hope that all freedom loving people throughout the world will do all they can to expose it".

URUGUAY

* The Executive Committee of the Uruguayan Press Association sent a message of protest to the speaker of the Brazillian Chamber of Deputies. It also called upon Press Organisatons in other Latin American countries and International Press Organisations to launch a world wide campaign for the release of the Wang Wei chen and Chu Ching-tung.

SOMALI

* UNION, weekly organ of the Somali Youth League, called for the immediate release of the two Chinese colleagues. "By its disgraceful deed of arresting the Chinese journalists. the military junta, showed that it was obeying the orders of the imperialists and colonialists", and that this would only strengthen the solidarity of the Asian, African and Latin American people.

KOREA

* RODONG SHINMOON, Korean journal, in the name of the Korean journalists, stated that freedom of the press is an elementary principle which no one can violate. As for the Chinese correpondents in Brazil, they were only carrying out their normal press activities in the spirt of strengthening friendship between the peoples of China and Brazil. Only the imperialists are afraid of the growing understanding and friendship among peoples and are trying by hook or by crook to damage them.

* The Korean Journalists Union in a telegram fully endorsed the April 10th joint statement of the All China Journalists Association and Hsin Hua News Agency and pledged support to the struggle for the release of the two Chinese journalists.

COSTA RICA

* Two Costa Rican News broadcast stations-"Impacto" and "Costo Rica al dia"— denounced the arrests, and stressed that the arrest of the Chinese journalists was a grave violation of human rights and "a notorious folly on the part of the military". Costa Rican journalists and intellectuals headed by deputy JOLIO SUNOL and ADOLFO HERRERA in a cable protested at the arrests.

IRAQ

* Iraqi newspapers condemned the Brazillian coup d'etat authorities for their illegal arrest of Wang Wei Chen and Chu Ching-tung.

AL ARAB — "we are duty bound to denounce all such actions and behaviour which violate the principles of international law and practice as the detention of these persons."

AL BILAD — "we add our voice to this protest pledged for the freedom of news coverage in the world.

VIETNAM

* A meeting of more than 300 Vietnamese journalists protested against the unjustified arrests. In the name of 1.500 Vietnamese journalists, HOANG TUNG, President of the Vietnamese Journalists Association sent a message to the coup leaders protesting against the arrests.

*. Vietnamese papers 'NHAN DAN, and BAO TAN VIET HOA — said it was well known that the U.S. was hostile to the development of trade and friendly relations between China and Brazil — but this plot of the U.S. imperialist was doomed to failure.

CUBA

* The Cuban Journalists Union denounced the "pro-yankee terrorists police regime installed in Brazil by means of force and imperialists conspiracies" for arresting and torturing the hsinhua correspondents.

"This constitutes a crude mockery of the most fundamental international practice and an absolute renunciation of human rights and freedom of the press - - - ".

* El Mundo, the Cuban paper, carried various editorials condemning the arrests.

* Hoy — in an editorial said that the maltreatment of the Chinese personnel and plot to abduct them to Taiwan "have shocked world opinion".

ZANZIBAR

* The All Zanzibar Journalists Organisation in a statement demanded the release of the two hsinhua correspondents. The statement urged the Brazillian authorities to respect the freedom of the Press and appealed to the progressive press and other progressive forces in the world to demand the immediate release of the two Chinese journalists.

CEYLON

* The Ceylon Journalists' Association in a letter to the President of Brazil said: "Your action becomes more atrocious and vicious when you refuse request to release them or make known their present conditions. You have violated international practice, ignored all Civil rights and denied these two correspondents the freedom of the press".

JAPAN

* The Japan Council of Afro-Asian Journalists' Association expressed full support to the joint statement of the All China Journalists' Association and the Hsinhua News Agency.

* The Japan Congress of Journalists sent a cable demanding the immediate release of the two journalists and pointed out that the U.S. imperialists intrigue to undermine the friendly relations between China and Brazil was the cause of the incident.

CHILE

* The Journalists Club of Santiago, Chile, has cabled Ranieri Mazzilli, Acting President of Brazil demanding the release of the two journalists and asked for clarification of their actual conditions and demanded the guarantee of their normal pursuits.

BASUTOLAND

* Molapo Qhobela, member of the Executive Committee of the Basutoland Journalists' Association, lodged a strong appeal to the coup authorities to grant immediate personal liberty and freedom to Wang Wei-Chen and Chu Chiung-tung. Molapo in his cable stressed that "this action constituted a flagrant violation of the internationally accepted basic principles governing the freedom of the press together with the personal freedom of press representatives".

SOUTH VIETNAM

* The South Vietnam Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association protested against the fascist act of the Brazillian authorities in a cable to the coup leaders and fully supported the statement of the AAJA.

GHANA

* The Ghana Union of Journalists and writers in their cable demanding the release of the Chinese journalists said: "We, Ghanain journalists, would like to point out, in all seriousness that the arrest and inhuman persecution of these two journalist are nothing but international intrigues hatched by imperialism and neo-colonialism".

PAKISTAN

* The Executive Council of the Karachi Union of Journalists at a meeting adopted a resolution demanding that the Brazillian authorities release the Hsinhua journalists and stated: "It is violation of the principle of freedom of the press".

* Asrar Ahmad, Secretary of the Asian-African Journalists' Association, in a statement issued in Rawal Pindi, said that such detention on an undefined charged was against all canons of social justice and democratic practises.

MALI

* The Mali National Union of Journalists demanding the release of the two journalists said that the persecution were in violation of international law.

* Mamadou Gologo, President of the Union, and Secretary of the AAJA, in a cable to U.N. Secretary General U Thant, said the Mali journalists fully shared the reprobation and anxiety of all progressive journalists in the world to the news of the arrest and imprisonment of the Hsinhua correspondents.

MALAYA

* The Malayan Monitor — monthly, said that "decent-minded people everythere have been angered and shocked by the illegal arrest and torture of Chinese journalists and business officlals in Brazil last month.

The people of the world demand the immediate release of all the Chinese personnel with full compensation for all wrongs and losses suffered, the monthly concluded.

ALGERIA

* The Algerian people and government strongly condemn the illegal arrest of the nine Chinese personnell, Algerian Press Service said. "The persecution of the nine Chinese citizens shows up the true features of those who pretend to restore 'democracy' in Brazil, and reveals their real designs to enslave the Brazillian people.

COLOMBIA

* The Colombian National Journalists' Association, in a cable "demanded the immediate release of our colleagues who were persecuted and arrested while engaging in normal pursuits".

INDONESIA

* The Indonesian Journalists' Association in a strong cable condemned the arrests as arbitrary and declared that it could only benefit the reactionaries. The arrests were a violation of the accepted norms governing press freedom, and called on the Brazillian authorities to release the two Chinese journalists immediately.

the Ceylon Press: AN IMPERIALIST STOOGE!

The Press in Ceylon has a unique history. It has a history of defending and safeguarding the policies, principles and interests of the imperialists and their stooges in the country while ignoring and disregarding the hopes and aspirations of the people and preventing or retarding national development.

Even after gaining independence in 1948, the attitude of the Press was the same, for the Government that came into being with the granting of independence faithfully represented the colonial interests in this country.

In 1956 the people of Ceylon, led by the late revered Prime Minister, Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, defeated the ultra-reactionary United National Party, which pawned the independence of the country to the imperialists and colonialists and served only the reactionary elements and capitalists in the country. To accomplish that noble task Mr. Bandaranaike received the co-operation and assistance of the two Marxist parties in the country, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party.

That was the year when a true national Government was established; when the people's era in Ceylon dawned; when the people began to realise and enjoy real independence.

Says

Dharmasiri Dayakodi

Since the year 1956, the Press in Ceylon began to change its tactics and intensify its anti-national activities. Political, economic and cultural changes that were taking place under the new Government were obstructed by the defeated reactionary elements supported by the Press monopolists as such changes were dealing direct blows at their capitalist interests. Re-distribution of the wealth of the country, allowing more opportunities for the people at large to take part in the economic activities, was a distinct development in the society, and it was that situation that was vehemently opposed by the reactionary group.

Newspapers, a sole monopoly of a handful of individuals, took upon itself the responsibility of safeguarding their own interests and those of the reactionaries and, in doing so, they resorted to suppression and distortion of news and destructive criticism of the Government's progressive policies

The monopoly Press became more aggressive with every progressive step the Government took, particularly in the political and economic fields, eliminating the vestiges of colonial rule in the country.

The position became still worse after the death of Mr. Bandaranaike at the hands of the reactionaries. The greatest enemy that Madam Bandaranaike, who was given a mandate by the people in 1960 to govern the country, had to face was the monopoly Press, this time backed by not only the local reactionaries and capitalists, but also certain foreign powers well-known for subversive activities and exploiting nations.

Since the beginning of the new era under the leadership of Madam Bandaranaike, whose Government boldly took certain steps to break the imperialist hold over the economic structure of the country such as nationalising big local as well as foreign-owned ventures, the Press launched an all-out attack to discredit the Government and discourage the people with a view to bringing back to power the once rejected reactionary United National Party. The Press magnates allowed the Press to become a political weapon in the hands of power-hungry stooges of the imperialists. They allowed the noble art of journalism to be prostituted. Truth was hidden or twisted. Indecency was at its height.

Today the people of Ceylon have become more political conscious than before; they want to change their society; they want to progress. But the Press in the country, instead of becoming an instrument of this "revolution", has become an enemy of the people, an obstacle in their forward march. Ceylon is, perhaps, the only independent country, or one of the very few independent countries, in which the Press has not realised the aspirations of the people and in which the Press has become the faithful custodian of the imperialist and colonialist interests.

It is because of this nature of the Press here and its anti-national activities that the Government had to declare in its first policy speech that it would take steps to vest the newspapers in statutory public corporations with unlimited share-capital, restricting individual holding to prevent any abuse by the formation of unhealthy monopolies.

The people and the journalists welcomed this proposal with great joy. The patriotic journalists thought it was an opportunity to free their noble profession from the dirty, manoeuvering hands of the press magnates. The entire memberiship of the Ceylon Journalists' Association endorsed in one voice the decision of the Government to break the Press monopoly. Representatives of the association at local and international forums have pledged their organisation's support to the Government to implement its policy.

Our association regrets one thing. It feels sorry that a section of the journalists in our country has been deprived of the opportunity of expressing their views by the reactionary leadership of another journalists' group in the country.

It must be mentioned that no sooner had the Government's policy on the Press been declared than the capitalist newspapers in, practically, every country in the world began to publish columns of criticisms against the intended clean-up of the Press.

Owing to various circumstances the Government has not been able to directly implement its policy. Yet, we are glad that a Press Commission has been appointed to probe the various aspects of the Press and its anti-national activities. This Commission is now conducting its investigations.

The journalists and the people of Ceylon have a big task to perform in their endeavour to complete the freedom they gained 16 years ago. Firstly, they have to eradicate the imperialist influence in the country in the form of neo-colonialism in various guises. Secondly, they have to complete the social revolution which will end exploitation and pave the way for economic freedom for the people.

The undisputed necessary condition for the journalists to participate in this struggle of the people is the creation of a true national Press. Such a struggle is part and parcel of the struggle against the common enemy of the people and journalist — imperialism and colonialism — and local reactionary forces.

The Ceylon Journalists' Association is fully alive to these tasks and its responsibilities. It is with that responsibility that the association is now organising its activities on a larger scale and consolidating its position among the journalists in the country.

The association is fully confident that the day is not far off when there will be in Ceylon true freedom of the Press, devoid of imperialist, colonialist and local reactionary domination and influence.

At a time when we, journalists of Ceylon, are engaged in a determined struggle to establish a truly free and national Press, which we can use to accelerate the progressive march of the people, we are glad that the journalists of Asia and Africa have united themselves in one organisation, the Asian-African Journalists' Association, for we believe that our colleagues in our two continents will render to us their assistance and co-operation in achieving our goal.

Whatever the struggle our association is engaged in internally, we give a solemn pledge to our brother journalists in Asia and Africa that our association will spare no time and efforts to give our unstinted co-operation to the struggling peoples of Afro-Asia to free their countries from the imperialists and the colonialists.

See Further page 42

MAURITIUS: Politics and Press

D. NAPAL (MA)

On Saturday the 22nd February 1964, the pseudo-socialist daily *Advance* published a news item, under the caption, "L'Ile Maurice, base de la Réserve stratégique". It was about the declaration of David Windsor of the *Institute of Strategic Studies of Great Britain*, to the effect that Mauritius was ideally situated as a military base for operations in East Africa, Borneo and Aden and other African Countries.

Advance commenting the news said: "Le stationnement d'une brigade de la Réserve stratégique à Maurice de même que l'utilisation de la rade de Diégo Garcia comme base pour la marine britannique, donnerait de l'emploi à un grand nombre de Mauriciens et aiderait à résoudre du moins en partie, notre problème de chomage."

Such a comment is symptomatic of the partiality of the local papers for the imperialist designs of the Colonialists. Likewise, another daily *Action* on the 16th of March 1962 published the news that America was seriously thinking of using Mauritius as an air base for operations in the fight against the socialist newly liberated states, or those in process of liberation.

When the Mauritian journalists comment on such news, they are almost exultant. They think of the partial solution of employment in Mauritius. Could there be a more unsympathetic, attitude towards our neighbours the African countries?

Unfortunately we have no truly socialist paper or magazine to take up the cudgels in favour of the socialist countries whose importance for the very position it occupies in the Indian Ocean cannot be denied. This island, situated on the East Coast of Madagascar already in the 18th century served as a naval base of primary importance in the Anglo-French wars of French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

Britain does not want to lose its grip of the island in spite of the talks about Independence as it can well serve its imperialist purposes.

To day's Mauritius is in the grip of the Neo-Colonialists. Imperialism has found in the leaders of the Mauritius Labour Party tools to perpetuate its dark desings. For two centuries the imperialists have been bleeding white the working classes. The Labour Party came forward a quarter of a century ago and stood as the champion of the downtrodden classes. Since its inception up to the institution of the ministerial system of government in 1958, the Party was inspired by the best of socialist ideals. For example in the General Legislative Elections of 1948 and 1953 it stood for the nationalisation of the sugar industry, the main source of the island's resources. Slowly but surely opportunists took hold of the Party and in to-day's Government this pseudo-socialist party is in majority. As in so many newly liberated countries, the imperialists have found allies in present ministers of Government who anxious to feather their own nest have thrown overboard all decency and abandoned their pristine socialist creed. To put it more simply they have betrayed the working classes who brought them to power.

The journalists of Mauritius, with a few exceptions, have joined their force with the reactionaries in the pay of Imperial Britain. The pseudo-socialist papers have all the while acted hand in glove with the dark powers of the reactionary government. It would seem, at first sight, hard to explain the attitude of the Mauritian journalists, this very year, when the Labour Party, in spite of its majority in the Legislative Council, accepted a Coalition Government. The journalists call the present government a coalition government, formed in the major interest of the country. Coalition with whom? With the leaders of the *PARTI MAURICIEN*, the conservative party of Mauritius, the very party which the Labour Party fought tooth and nail in the elections of October last. The socialist journalist, if he had an opportunity to speak his mind-at present no Mauritian paper would accept an article condemning the so-called coalition government ..... would say: This is no coalition government but a dishonest, dirty alliance with the most ruthless enemies of the working classes, those very people who hold in their hands the economy of the island, the sugar industry. These very men or their likes in 1937 and again in 1943 suppressed by force of arms the rising of the workers who were paid starvation wages.

(Continued on page 31)

African Liberation Day

—25 May.

by Lionel Morrison

On May 25th it is exactly one year ago that 32 Heads of African States formally met in the ancient and beautiful city of Addis-Ababa, capital of the oldest independent country in Africa, and in an atmosphere pregnated with political realism, unanimously drew up the Charter and Resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity. This unanimous act of African solidarity, based on the sincere and urgent desire to rid Africa completely of all imperialist and colonialist vestiges and pockets of influence, was the natural outcome of the historical objective situation now obtaining in Africa, and the rest of the world, especially Asia and Latin America. It was the necessary outcome of the many years of struggle against imperialist and colonialist domination and penetration, and the many years of struggle by various African leaders like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to lay the basis for a Union Government of Africa.

It was in the framework of this realistic and revolutionary atmosphere that cognisance was taken of the remaining pockets of colonialism, white Supremacy and terror. The Articles dealing with Decolonisation is indeed the inevitable recognition that it is the duty of all African Independent States to support peoples in Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence. As a necessary corollary a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of nine African states (populary known as the Committee of Nine) was established which would give practical aid to the National Liberation Movements in the dependent countries. To bring to the fore and to popularise the recommendations of the Summit Conference, as well as to collect sums over and above the national contributions for the special fund, the Conference named the day of *25 May as AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY*. It was decided to among other methods to organise popular demonstrations, on this day.

Indeed during these 12 months various happenings have taken place in Africa, that have severely tested the elasticity, durability and revolutionary potency of the Charter and indeed of the OAU itself. Hardly a few months after the successful closing of the Conference, hardly had the various heads of States reported to their various Parliaments and rectified the Charter,when the first test of the viability of the Charter and Organisation, took place. The border conflicts between Algeria and Morocco, took a serious turn, resulting in armed clashes. Fleet Street and Wall Street papers gleefully and maliciously predicted that the Charter and the OAU was a dead chapter. But history was unkind to them. Thanks to the answerving efforts of Pres. Mobito Keita and Emperor Haile Selasie, both Algeria and Morocco, rallied to the call of the OAU, called for a ceasefire and peaceful discussions on the issues involved. But the decades of the evil results of the balkanisation of Africa by the colonialists threatened to be the one thorn in the side that would continously test the potency of the OAU. A few months, indeed a few weeks later, after the Algerian-Moroccan ceasefire, the border disputes between Somali, on the one hand and Ethiopia and Kanya on the other, took a turn that assayed to the hilt the principles of the Charter. At the present moment the border problems are being peacefully discussed, but no one can deny that without the living reality of the OAU, the situation would have been much more grave. A pertinent lesson to be learned from the above mentioned events is the urgency and immediacy of thoroughly ressessing Dr. Nkrumah's call for a United Africa. No one can and dare deny that practical efforts towards the realisation of a Continental government will and can eliminate these tricky and explosive border problems-a product and remnant of colonialism.

Yet this year have seen even more encroachments on the basic principles of the Charter. The events in Gabon, where 25 Africans were killed and 40 injured, portended a severe test to the signatories of the Charter. Whether the French para interference in the affairs of Gabon, was justified or legal, is not the issue. What is at question is the willy-nilly interference in the affairs of sovereign states in Africa by foreign countries. One of the salient points of the Addis Ababa Charter is the evacuation of foreign bases in Africa. Some heads of states who condemned the coup d'etat remained silent after the French intervention in Africa. The President of one West Africa State actually declared "I approve the decisions of the French government as it is in conformity with the agreements that link France to certain African countries," and another neighboring President proclaimed : to be against French intervention in Gabon is ignorance or madness. That ignorance or madness indeed does prevail among one or two Presidents is obvious. But this ignorance and madness is fortunately confined to this limited company and does not negate the vitality and intense realism of the Charter. Indeed, in passing I would like to take the opportunity of mentioning that this madness and ignorance can also be attested to some Indian papers who maliciously at that time, accused the Addis Ababa Conference of overestimating Imperialism and Colonialism. But madness and ignorance aside, this was a state of mind hardly in conformity with the decisions taken in Addis Ababa. The army mutiness in East Africa, to a certain extent also tested the elasticity of the Charter. That the governments of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya fully realised this, is evident in the immediate covening of a meeting of the OAU (called on their initiative) and the realistic proposals put into effect — which completely overshadowed an event which might have had terrible repercussions on the relevency of the Charter. It would not be mere conjecture to assume what might have happened, and its effects on Africa, if the basis (the OAU) for the alternative arrangment was not already in existence.

That these were teething problems, although painful ones at that, of the new found unity, in the framework of the OAU, cannot be denied.

These were some of the realities facing the independent African States since the adoption of the Addis Ababa Charter.

In relation to the national liberation movements in the dependent countries, the OAU proved equally vital, necessary and pertinent.

(*Continued from page 19*)

Assistance in all fields have been forthcoming, and has helped to accelerate the struggle in the various dependent countries. One important contribution has been the unanimity of action concerning the Verwoerd, Salazar and Smith nexus. Without the OAU the various positive actions against the Verwoerd government would have taken a longer time to implement, and one can safely say that the action would not have been so unanimous. (It has now become possible to speak as one voice in Uno and its various agencies, in issues that have direct bearing on the Charter. This is an important point).

This one year has witnessed the various victories scored by the peoples of Zanzibar and Zambia, and has seen the acceleration of the struggle of the national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbakwe, Basutoland, Swaziland and "Portuguese" Guinea. For us journalists the successful and historic convening of the Second Pan African Journalists Conference, where we hailed the OAU and dedicated ourselves to work towards the Charter's realisation as well as the Union Government of Africa, is of primary importance.

Of course there is still much that leaves to be desired, but if one is realistic and objective, then much had been done to show the pertinence and vitality of the Charter and the OAU.

In summing up the achievements and difficulties of the OAU for the last year, without doubt, one can with absolute assurance declare that the OAU is a milestone in African history. Its vitality, necessity, durability, elasticity, pertinence and unifying basis, had been tested and found to be lasting. It has been shaken abit, but it has maintained its compactness.

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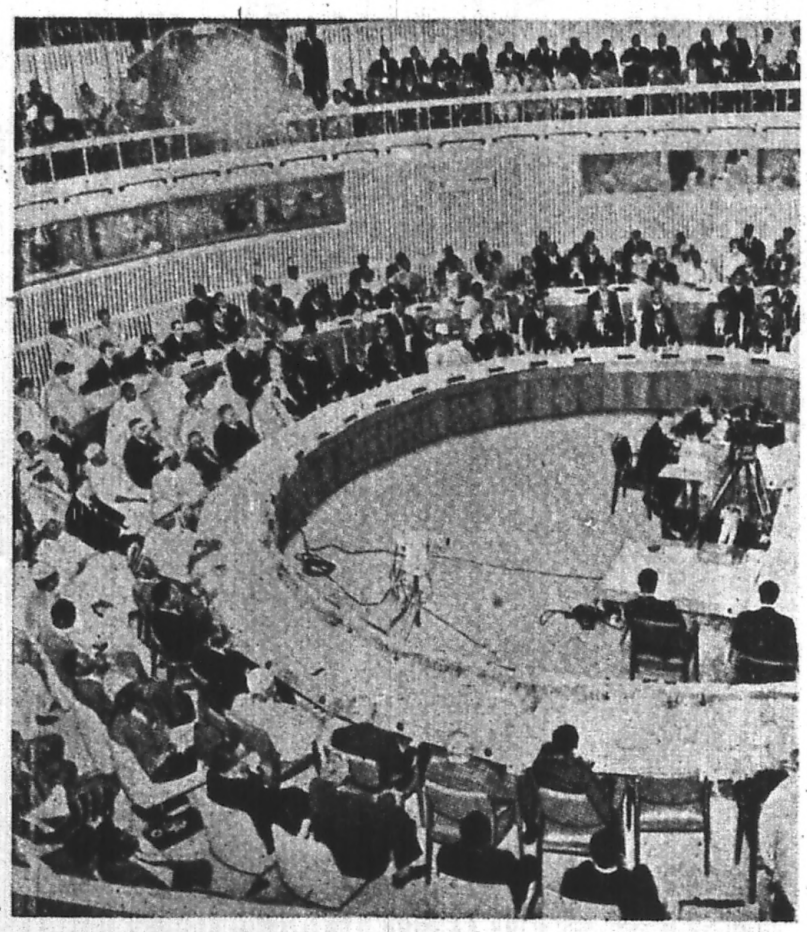


Scene of the proceedings in Addis Ababa.

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY CELEBRATED BY AAJA and other AA Bodies in Djakarta

The mass meeting in Commemoration of African Liberation Day organised jointly by the AAJA, AAWC (AA Workers Conference), the AAFF (Africa Asia Film Festval), and the IOSRAA (Indonesian Organisation for Solidarity among the Peoples of Africa and Asia) supported by the Indonesian mass organisation in the Indonesian Journalists' Association building at Djakarta on the evening of Monday, May 25, 1964, was a great success.

After having listened attentively to the speeches of H.E. The First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Subandrio, Minister of Information, Mr. Roeslan Abdulgani, H.E. the Charge d'Affairs of Cuba, Cardoso, H.E. the Charge d'Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Ma'arfiah, Mr. Morrison, member of the AAJA Secretariat, Mrs. Ratu Aminah Hidajat from the Indonesian Peace Committee, and Joesoef Deputy Secretary General of the AAJA, the meeting passed the following resolution :

1. Co-operation, mutual aid and fighting solidarity of the Indonesian People in particular, the African and Asian peoples in general in the struggle to destroy imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, is growing stronger day by day while it is playing a more and more decisive role; the co-operation and solidarity among the peoples of Africa and Asia has also been strengthened by joint activities like the Afro-Asian Journalists Conference, the AA Writers Conference, the AA Workers Conference, the AA Film Festival, the Organisation for Solidarity among the AA Peoples and the Preparatory Conference for the Second AA Conference.

2. The Indonesian people, therefore, highly appraise the Addis Ababa Charter, which is not only signifying the road towards African Unity in fighting colonialism, imperialist aggression and towards warding off of all kinds of neo-colonialist maneuvers in the political, economic, cultural and military fields like the "peace corps", spies of American imperialism, but also this Charter has become a force cementing Afro-Asian solidarity. Therefore with the resolute carrying out of the Addis Ababa Charter the more puissant will the weapon be for the African people in their struggle to new victories. And every victory of the African people in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is a victory of the Asian people in general. These victories are the victories of the Addis Ababa Charter and mark the still blazing "Bandung Fire".

3. The Indonesian people, therefore, continue to denounce the racial discrimination practised by the Verwoerd Regime in South Africa in particular and everywhere else in the world in general, and it is only when the victory in the struggle for national independence of the South African people is complete that this racial discrimination will be defeated.

4. The Indonesian people support the armed struggle of the peoples of Angola, Congo, "Portuguese" Guinea and the other African peoples who have set out on the revolutionary path in building up their national independence like the people in North Kalimantan, South Vietnam, and Laos in Asia at present, and as has already been demonstrated by the heroic struggle of the peoples of Algeria and Cuba. The Indonesian people are convinced, that this armed struggle is being waged with the confidence that "we love peace but we love freedom more" and these struggles will certainly contribute to the creation of genuine world peace. We support the struggle for independence of the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, French Somali, Gambia, Nyasaland, South West Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It is therefore that the intervention and intimidation by the VIIth US Fleet towards Zanzibar, as well as military bases from the imperialists or the NATO that are being enacted by American imperialism should be resisted and persistently resisted.

(*Cintinued on page 30*)

Alyerian Charge d'Affairs Mr. Ma'arfiah, addressing the well attended meeting.

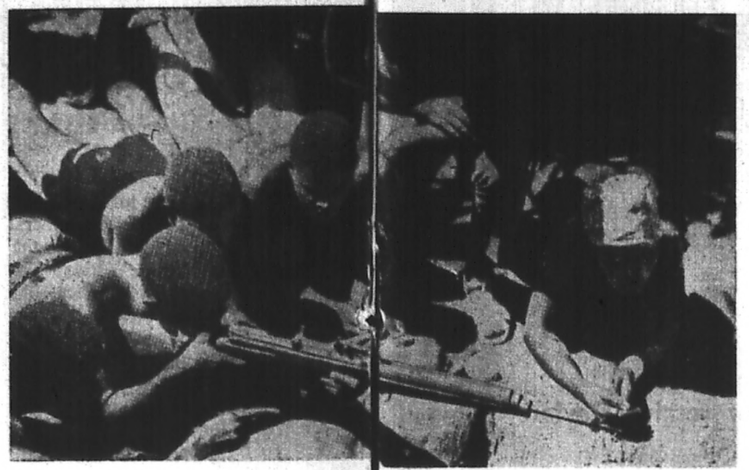
BATTLEFIELDS

Angola .....

The Conference holds that since imperialism and new and old colonialism are ferociously and viciously suppressing the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the oppressed nations have full rights to take up arms to strike back at suppression and win independence and, liberty and must necessarily do so. The peoples of Asia and Africa firmly reject the allegations and manoeuvres which aim at weakening and corrupting their struggle for independence and liberation. The Conference condemns the slogans of paternalism according to which the oppressed peoples should wait that the imperialists "bestow" national independence and freedom on them.

The Conference emphatically denounces US imperialism which has become the main bulwark of modern imperialism and the common enemy of the peoples of Asia and Africa .....

(Extract of Main Conference Resolution on the struggle against and colonialism).



"Portuguese" Guinea .....

where

COLONIALISM

and

IMPERIALISM

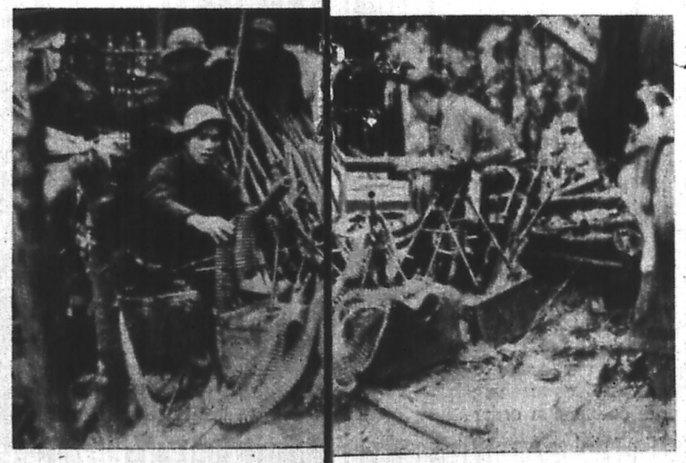
are meeting their

South Africa .....

DOOM

Indonesia .....

Venezuela .....



South Vietnam

THE PHILIPPINE PRESS and the Unfinished Revolution

by
Jose Ma Sison
Editor: Progressive Review

The revolutionary and anti-colonialist tradition in the Philippine press was started by *La Solidaridad* (Solidarity) and *Kalayaan* (Freedom), two newspapers which carried the patriotic thoughts and sentiments of Dr. Jose Rizal, Lopez-Jaena, M.H. del Pilar, Emilio Jacinto among others.

They made coherent the national and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people and energized the Philippine Revolution of 1896 that led to the formation of the Filipino nation and the establishment of the First Philippine Republic.

These two newspapers — which were the pioneers of the modern Philippine press in a chronological as well as ideological sense — set the standards for Philippine journalism, in the exposure of concrete truth and basic problems and in the disposition of national and social responsibility.

Their success as instruments of truth and change was made more striking and meaningful by the forbidding context of colonialist coercion and violence. They were fearless in laying bare the injustices and fallacies of colonial domination.

Philippine journalism cannot be justly reviewed without being guided by the standards of serious dynamism of *La Solidaridad* and *Kalayaan*. They served as weapons of revolution inasmuch as the colonialists had employed a powerful press and system of propaganda against the Filipino people.

It is necessary to recall and rediscover the revolutionary heritage and role of the Philippine press as the resumption and completion of the **Unfinished Revolution** (President Macapagal's Concept) has become urgent in all fields.

The idea is to encourage the Philippine press to function once more as a dynamic, profound and consistent revolutionary organ and to confront the reactionary power of the imperialist and pro-imperialist press which has come to dominate the Filipino mind since the time U.S. imperialism frustrated through military barbarism the revolutionary success of the First Philippine Republic of June 12, 1898.

The most immediate effect of rediscovery by the Philippine press of its revolutionary role is to assure Filipino national leaders that they need no longer fear the subtle coercion of imperialism through the press.

As a weapon of imperialism, the press has oftentimes been more effective than military coercion. The press has actually been the first line of coercion against our leaders in Asia and Africa. Oftentimes, short-sighted political leaders have preferred the popularity granted them by the imperialist press, instead of preferring the revolutionary alternative of popularity developed through direct communion and cooperation with the masses.

The long-run effect of rediscovery by the Philippine press of its revolutionary role is to become eventually an organic part of the massive efforts to continue the **Unifinished Revolution.**

The press will then become the vehicle of revolutionary expression of the working class, the peasantry and other national forces and elements in the general effort to achieve full and genuine national freedom, social justice and lasting peace. It is a pity, indeed, that imperialist and pro-imperialist views have a free run of the national press.

At the present moment, the act of liberation is the most prior and most important concern of the Philippine press, as in other Asian-African countries. The highest form of contradiction in the Philippines today is between imperialism and national democracy. There is no concealing the fact that with the violent advent of U.S. imperialism, which replaced the old-type colonialism of Spain in the Philippines, the Philippine press fell captive to imperialism. The revolutionary standards set by *La Solidaridad* and *Kalayaan* became suppressed, as in all other fields of patriotic Filipino endeavor.

After its military victory in the Filipino-American War at the beginning of the twentieth century, U.S. imperialism immediately imposed the most rigid censorship, sedition laws, libel laws and laws of brigandage which terrorized the free-thinking journalists and all segments of the Filipino people with banishment, imprisonment, torture, huge fines and death. The Filipino journalist came under the campaign of pacification and under the program of installing American "democracy" in Asia.

The imperialist press marched in with its "yellow journalism", falsehoods and petty sensationalism. The Hearst papers set the standards of journalism from the new metropolis. They kept publicizing that the U.S. Marines came to save the Filipinos from themselves and to Chistianize them some more. The closest the imperialist press came to the truth was to publicize the speeches of Senator Beveridge preaching the acquisition of more and more colonies in order

(Continued on page 25)

to have new markets and new sources of raw materials for the American capitalist system.

The thoroughness of U.S. imperilaism in suppressing the freedom of the Philippine press can be seen in the classic case of the editorial, *"Aves de Rapina"* (Birds of Prey), which appeared in the patriotic *El Renacimiento* (Resurgence) during the period of direct American occupation. The American Governor-General easily saw himself as one of the birds of prey and filed a libel suit. His legal action resulted in imprisonment of the editor, huge fines for "moral" damages, and the closing down of the most patriotic and popular newspaper. Imperialism could not even tolerate allegory.

In this historical context, therefore, it is easily seen why the Philippine press has been sufficiently weakened to remain helpless when the interests of the Filipino nation are preyed upon by U.S. imperialism. Many well-meaning critics of the Philippine press have pointed out its failure to fight consistently against the Bell Trade Act which required the infamous amendment of the Philippine Constitution to give the right to U.S. investors to exploit the natural resources of the Philippines and own public utilities, the Military Bases Agreement which keeps in American hands substantial and strategic portions of Philippine territory, the military defense pacts — the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact, the Military Assistance Pact and the SEATO — which give the U.S. the right of intervention in Philippine affairs, the Quirino-Foster Agreement which allows the infiltration and control by American and pro-American agents of the Philippine bureaucracy, the Laurel- Langley Agreement and so many other iniquitous agreements, treaties and arrangements with U.S. imperialism.

Muck-raking and sensationalism have too often distracted Filipino journalists from their noble mission of reporting significant information to the people. These have too often been mistaken as the meaning of press freedom. If there is any sense of priority left to Filipino journalists, it has always been taken back by the selfish hand of the imperialist press and its agents. Basic national issues have been underplayed, obscured and distorted by the imperialist-dominated press.

Today, Filipino journalists have the obligation of re-examining the state of the Philippine press, with central reference to national purposes. In this regard, they must expose in the most critical manner the extent imperialism controls and influences the Philippine press.

It has been very obvious, indeed, that American power persists in the Philippine press either through direct American ownership or sustenance of the media through American advertisements. Either or both have influenced and determined publishing and editorial policies.

American control of the press agencies and monopoly of news distribution is also a fact to be noted. Enlistment of certain newsmen into the payroll of the U.S. Information Agency and other imperialist entities such as huge American business firms, and the giving away of U.S. State Department travel grants corrupt and subvert the Philippine press.

There are many more facts and many more mechanisms that imperialism is responsible for; and these can be seen more lucidly through deep soul-searching and through the most rational investigation.

(Continued on page 32)

I ACCUSE

Nelson Mandela, 44 year old African Leader was sentenced to five years imprisonment on November 7, 1962, after he had been found guilty of organising a national strike on May 29 and 31, 1962 in protest against the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act and of leaving South Africa without a valid passport to attend the Conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in February 1962.

Today Mandela together with 8 other South African patriots are facing further charges of attempting to overthrow the minority White government of Verwoerd, and if found guilty they face the death sentence. The Rivonia Trial, as it is known, is expected to end anytime now.

During this trial Mandela declared "I do not deny that I planned sabotage. I did not do this in a spirit of recklessness. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the situation after many years of oppression and tyrany of my people by the Whites".

At the Main Conference of the AAJA the 47 delegates unanimously passed resolutions condemning the inhuman policies of the minority White Government of South Africa and supported fully the resolve of the African people of South Africa to add violence to their methods of struggle, so as to free themselves at last from the tyrany of White rule. It

(Continued next page)

also called on all Afro-Asian countries to fully implement the UNO call for economic sanctions against South Africa, and stated explicitly : "This conference ..... urges Afro-Asian States and Organisations to regard States which ignore or try to evade this resolution as allies of the White minority Government of South Africa, and therefore enemies of the African people in South Africa". Excuses that trading with South Africa will help the non white people of South Africa, is an excuse to put the economic interests of these countries before the lives of the African people in South Africa. The African people themselves have called for these sanctions.

It is the duty of all Afro-Asian journalists to give all support to the freedom struggle of the South African peoples. This is a struggle that cannot be shirked.

Nelson mandela, Walter Sisula, journalist Govan Mbeki, and the other 6 South African patriots must be saved. The conscience of Afro-Asia, indeed of the whole world must not allow these patriots to be sacrified on the alter of Apartheid and White Supremacy. We call on all journalists to raise high their voices and demand the release of these patriots.

Below we publish extracts of the address of Mandela to the all white court which tried and sentenced him during the first trial. In making application for the magistrate to recuse himself from the case, Mandela said :

The White Man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgment over us. Now it is fit and proper to ask the question, Sir, what is this rigid colour bar in the administration of justice all about ? Why is it that in this Courtroom I am facing a white Magistrate, confronted by a white Prosecutor, escorted by white Orderlies. Can anybody honestly and seriously suggest that in this type of atmosphere the scales of justice are evenly balanced ? Why is it that no African in the history of this country has ever had the honour of being tried by his own kith and kin, by his own flesh and blood ? I will tell Your Worship why: the real purpose of this rigid colour bar is to ensure that the justice dispensed by the courts should conform to the policy of the country, however much that policy might be in conflict with the norms of justice accepted in judiciaries throughout the civilized world.

I feel oppressed by the atmosphere of white domination that is around me in this Courtroom. Somehow this atmosphere recalls to mind this same white domination. It reminds me that I am voteless because there is a Parliament in this country that is white-controlled. I am without land because the white minority has taken the lion's share of my country, and I am forced to occupy poverty stricken reserves which are over-populated and understocked .....

I consider myself neither morally or legally bound to obey laws made by a Parliament in which I have no representation. That the will of the people is the basis of the authority of government is a principle universally acknowledged as sacred throughout the civilized world, and constitutes the basic foundation of freedom and justice. It is understandable why citizens who have the vote as well as the right of direct representation by the country's governing bodies should be morally and legally bound by the laws governing the country. It should be equally understandable why we as Africans should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent, nor can we be expected to have confidence in courts that interpret and enforce such laws.

The following extracts are taken from Mandela's address to the Court before sentence :

I am charged with inciting people to commit an offence by way of protest against the law, a law in which neither I nor any of my people had any say in preparing. The law against which the protest was directed is the law which established the Republic in the Union of South Africa. I am also charged with leaving the country without a passport. This Court has found that I am guilty of incitement to commit an affence in opposition to this law as well as of leaving the country. But in weighing up the decision as to the sentence which is to be imposed for such an offence, the Court must take into account the question of responsibility, whether it is I who is responsible or whether, in fact, a large measure of the responsibility did not lie on the shoulders of the Government which promulgated that law, knowing that my people, as a whole who constitute the majority of the population of this country were opposed to that law, and knowing further that every legal means of demonstrating that opposition had been closed to them by prior legislation and by Government administrative action...

The Conflict between Conscience and Law

Your worship, I would say that the whole life of any thinking African in this country drives continuously to a conflict between his conscience on the one hand and the law on the oher..... we have been driven to speak up for what we believe is right, and work for it and bring about changes which will satisfy our human conscience.

In the face of the complete failure of the Government to heed, to consider, or even to respond to our seriously purposed objections and proposals for solution to our objections to the forthcoming Republic, what were we do do ? Were we to allow the law, which states that you shall not commit an offence by way of protest, to take its course and thus betray our conscience and our belief ? Were we to uphold our conscience and our beliefs to strive for what we believe is right, not just for us, but for all the people who live in this country, both the present generation and for generations to come, and thus transgress against the law ? This is the dilemma which faced us and in such a dilemma, men of honesty, men of purpose and men of public morality and of conscience can only have one answer. They must follow the dictates of their conscience irrespective of the consequences which might overtake them for it. I followed my conscience.

A Democratic Republic for All

The issue that sharply divided white South Africans during the referendum for a Republic did not interest us. Continued association with the British Monarchy

on the one hand, or the establishment of a Boer Republic on the other—this was the crucial issue in so far as the white population was concerned and as it was put to them in the referendum. We were inspired by the idea of bringing into being a democratic republic where all South Africans will enjoy human rights without the slightest discrimination ; where African and non-African would be able to live together in peace, sharing a common nationality and a common loyalty to this country, which is our homeland. For these reasons we were opposed to the type of Republic proposed by the National Party Government, just as we had been opposed previously to the constitutional Empire.

There comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right to live a normal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because the Government has so decreed to use the law to impose a state of outlawry upon him. I was driven to this situation, and I do not regret having taken the decisions that I did take. Other people will be driven in the same way in this country, by this very same force of police persecution and of administrative action by the Government, to follow my course, of that I am certain.

Africans Massacred by Verwoerd's police.

Penalties Do Not Deter Men

I don't believe, Your Worship, that this Court, in inflicting penalties on me for the crimes for which I am convicted should be moved by the belief that penalties will deter men from the course that they believe is right. History shows that penalities do not deter men when their conscience is aroused, nor will they deter my people or the colleagues with whom I have worked before.

I am prepared to pay the penalty even though I know how bitter and desperate is the situation of an African in the prisons of this country. I have been in these prisons. Nevertheless, these considerations do not sway me from the path that I have taken nor will they sway others like me. For to men, freedom in their own land is the pinnacle of their ambitions, from which nothing can turn men of conviction aside. More powerful than my fear of dreadful conditions to which I might be subjected in prison is my hatred for the dreadful conditions to which my people are subjected outside prison throughout this country.

I hate the practice of race discrimination, and in doing so, in my hatred, I am sustained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind hate it equally. I hate the systematic inculcation of children with colour prejudice and I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind, here and abroad, are with me in that. I hate the racial arrogance which decrees that the good things of life shall be retained as the exclusive right of a minority of the population, and which reduces the majority of the population to a position of subservience and inferiority, and maintains them as voteless chattels to work where they are told and behave as they are told by the ruling minority, and I am sustained in that hatred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind both in this country and abroad are with me.

Nothing that this Court can do will change in any way that hatred in me, which can only be removed by the removal of the injustice and the inhumanity which I have sought to remove from the political, social and economic life of this country.

I Have Done My Duty

My tour of Africa made a forceful impression on me. For the first time in my life I was a free man: free from white oppression, from the idiocy of apartheid and racial arrogance, from police molestation, from humiliation and indignity. Wherever I went I was treated like a human being.

I have done my duty to my people and to South Africa. I have no doubt that posterity will pronounce that I was innocent and that the criminals that should have been brought before this Court are the members of the Verwoerd Government.

Nelson MANDELA

4 Point Appeal

It is with grave concern that we note the continuous aggressive designs of the Imperialists and Colonialists in Africa, Asia and Latin Amarica. These aggressive designs are directed at all our people whether they are workers, professionals, journalists, sportsmen etc. These attacks know no bounds-whether it is the arrest of and persecution of journalists, whether it is the fragrant violation of our air space or territorrial integrity, or whether it is the arbitrary barring of our sportsmen from international competitions. These attacks as we can also clearly see, fit into a pattern, which is as crystal clear as daylight. They are perpetrated by the same enemy, and in our three continents. As journalists we cannot and dare not remain and stand outside the general orbit of things. Our destiny as revolutiinary and honest journalists demand that we take sides on these issues, We cannot be concerned with "purely" journalistic. As the writer Terence, so aptly once anid "I am a man, and nothing that concerns a man, do I consider a matter of indifference to me." It is with this pilitical reality in mind that the Secretariat wishes to draw the urgent and considered attention of all Afro-Asian journalists, as well as all progressive journalists the whole world through, to the four issues below. They are of great moment and we cannot as upholders of the Truth remain indifferent.

URGENT APPEAL OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE AAJA TO ALL ITS MEMBER UNIONS AND MEMBERS AND ALL OTHER PROGRESSIVE JOURNALISTS.

I. SAVE THESE PATRIOTS

9 South African patriots are now on trial in South Africa charged with attempting to over-throw the minority fascist all white Verwoerd government by violence, and if found guilty they face the death sentence. The Rivonia Trial, as it is known, is expected to end any time now.

Among the 9 men is Govan Mbeki, a well known African journalist, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others.

These patriots like so many other South Africans whether in the country or outside have for years suffered under persecution, bannings, restrictions, and the myriad other oppressive legislation that is the order of the day in South Africa. As a result of its numerous oppressive inhuman laws and its policy of White Baaskap and Apartheid, all the progressive forces in the world whether inside the UNO, or in the OAU or in other international bodies have not only condemned but called for various actions against South Africa.

The AAJA at its Main Conference in April, 1963, vigorously condemned "the vicious terrorism unleased by the South African White Minority Government against the leaders of the liberation movement and demands the immediate release of Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and other political leaders from prison, house arrest and banishment" and goes further by "calling the attention of the world press and in particular the Afro-Asian press *to conduct and maintain a constant campaign of exposure, and focussing of attention on the tyranical oppression now being suffered by the journalists of South Africa,*" and calls upon all Afro-Asian nations to implement the resolution passed at the 17th Session of the U.N.O. advocating the imposition of economic and diplomatic Sanctions against South Africa.

These resolutions make our stand quite clear. There can be no equivocation or ifs and buts — on this question of death and life. The Secretariat of the AAJA calls on all its members to put into effect these resolutions on South Africa. The patriots facing the death sentence must be saved. The Secretariat calls for the immediate release of these patriots and others now languishing in Verwoerds goals and urge all its members to use their pens, journals, etc., to help save these men.

II. DEFEND CAMBODIAN NEUTRALITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY !

At thirteen hours on May 7th, US- South Vietnamese troops riding in thirteen M 113 (crab type) armoured vehicles attacked a peaceful Cambodian village Prek Taey, in Suay Rieng Province some four thousand metres inside the Cambodian border. This joint US- Vietnamese aggression caused the death of seven, and wounded four.

At six am, the next morning, the same batch of US- Vietnamese troops tried to attack the Cambodian military post of Fhlok, also in Suay Rieng Province. This time they suffered losses. They left behind a burnt "crab" armoured vehicle and four corpses. One of the intruders captured, questioned by the International Commission, testified that the attackers were under the command of US officers.

Coming in the wake of the brutal massacre at Chantrea Village on 19th March where 16 Cambodians were killed and 14 wounded, this new aggression is a very serious violation of Cambodian territorial integrity and neutrality. The Secretariat calls on all its members to vigorously protest at this continued aggression and to send messages of support to the Cambodian Journalists Association in Phnom Penh.

We appeal to all our colleagues to expose and oppose these continued acts of aggression and call their attention to the Djakarta Declaration which inter-alia emphatically states that "Asian African Journalists dedicate themselves — to fight for territorial integrity —".

Our Cambodian colleagues need all our support.

III. OPPOSE IMPERIALIST INTRIGUES IN SPORT

In Oct. 1964, the 18th Olympic Games will take place in Tokyo, Japan.

The AAJA, as an organisation of the progressive journalists in Afro-Asia, who has resolutely determined to fight against imperialism in all fields and places, does not miss to focus its attention on this event. Since it is clear that in this sport event, the imperialist play a vile role.

As it is already known, the International Olympic Committee in one of its decisions stated that "sport should be separated from politics" and since in the 1962 Asian Games in Djakarta, Indonesia has rejected the participation of Israel and Taiwan due to political reasons, the I.O.C. according to its decision has expelled and refused to let Indonesia take part in the coming Olympic Games in Tokyo.

The AAJA regards this I.O.C. decision as wholly political. It said that sport should be separated from politics ? This is only a bundle of nonsense. During its whole life the I.O.C. has always exercised politics. It is true that the I.O.C. does not "participate in politics", if it is in favour of the interests of the imperialist countries. But it always exercises politics when the imperialist countries do not gain anything.

On the one side the I.O.C. has tried fiercely to maintain the two-China policy in the Olympic Games, on the other hand it wanted to have only one Germany. Is this not a political decision ? In this context the I.O.C. has moved in accordance with the imperialist concept on China and Germany.

A series of other facts can be exposed that reveal that the I.O.C. and its members — especially Western countries — have several times taken political decisions in holding several games. The I.O.C. does not act against these Western countries, but it acted against Indonesia. Why does and can this happen ? It is only due to the composition of the I.O.C. It is dominated by the imperialist countries headed by the USA. The membership of the I.O.C. cannot, yes cannot, reflect the new emerging forces in Afro-Asia.

To all members and member-organisations, the AAJA urges to launch a campaign against the political intrigues of the I.O.C. The Indonesian people and government have taken a resolute attitude not to obey the political intrigues of the I.O.C., and have rejected to participate in the Olympic Games in Tokyo under the unjust and incredible terms of the I.O.C.

A campaign against the political intrigues of the I.O.C., which is dominated by the USA not only signifies solidarity whith Indonesia, but also expresses a struggle of principles against imperialism, namely US imperialism in the domain of sport.

The composition and the structure of the I.O.C. which is dominated by Western countries must be altered and must reflect the new situation in the world in accordance with the emergence of tens of Afro-Asian independent states. The Afro-Asian peoples will be able to alter the composition of the I.O.C. for their own interest only by revolutionary activity of the Afro-Asian peoples themselves. Such a recomposition will never come about due to the willingness of the imperialist countries. Nor will it come about only through high-sounding phrases of support from some who say that they are friends and who are in such a position as to intervene and make the I.O.C. think twice before embarking on its vicious campaign.

The AAJA Conference in its resolution supported the holding of the GANEFO and this clearly expressed its agreement to integrate politics into

sport, namely that politics makes Sport a means to reinforce Afro-Asian solidarity, friendship among nations and world peace. The Indonesian decision to reject Taiwan and Israel in the Asian Games in Djakarta was for the sake of solidarity and friendship with the Arab states, China and Afro-Asia in general, and as such is a praiseworthy and justifiable decision.

The AAJA vehemently protests the I.O.C. in its decision towards Indonesia and calls upon all its members to fight vigorously against imperialism, in the domain of sport !

IV. THE CUBAN SKY BELONGS TO THE CUBAN PEOPLE !

Since November 1962 up to April 1964, US planes have no less than 600 times violated the borders of Cuban air territory. In the same period US soldiers have 1118 times launched provocative actions at Guantanamo basis against the Cuban border units. Only recently the US has once again unleased an attack on Pilon harbour using Cuban counter-revolutionaries that are nested in US territory.

Prime Minister Fidel Cactro has denounced the attacks and violations of Cuban aerial territory and accuses the US imperialists of provocating another "Caribean Crisis". The President of the USA in view of this has answered that the US feels itself responsible to continue inspecting Cuban territory and therefor is continuing its "observation" flights over Cuba.

On May 1st of this year, Prime Minister Fidel Castro stressed that Cuba will react resolutely on this violation of Cuba's territorial airspace with all consequences rising out of it. He reminded the Cuban people of the possibility of a direct aggression from the side of the USA and called on being prepared for a guerilla warfare if necessary.

The AAJA are with the Cuban people that at present, besides building up their country are keeping their rifles shouldered to face any possible aggression from US impelialism. We pay homage to the high degree of vigilance displayed by the Cuban people that have no illusion whatsoever about the US imperialists and their hollow promises.

The Cuban sky belongs to the Cuban people. This is an inalienable right of the Cuban people. The continued "inspectional" US flights over Cuban territory is a fragrant violation of Cuban sovereignty, an out and out violation of international law, a gross violation of the UNO Charter. Any country no matter how big or how small, has the right to safeguard its territorial and airspace borders, and no country how big, small, weak or powerful has the right to interfere in the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another country. The US continued "inspectional" US flights is therefore a fragrant disregard of the UNO Charter, and a threat against all the AAA-peoples and New Emerging Forces and must be vigorously condemned by all freedom loving peoples. The AAJA calls on all its members and member organisations to join actively, by means of their respective newspapers in the week of solidarity with Cuba, that is being launched throughout the world from 24 — 31 May, 1964 with the motto : "The Cuban Sky belongs to Cuba" !

This solidarity is strengthening the unity of the AAA peoples and can only lead to greater victories against our common enemy. All progressive journalists in Afro-Asia have the ceaseless duty to expose the crimes and danger of US imperialism and mobilize an immense moral force throughout the world to resist the aggressive intentions of the United States.

(*Continued from page 21*)

5. The Indonesian people are convinced, that the Second AA Conference which is to be held in Africa next year, will be successful and will create a new weapon for the struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia. And in the scope of the common struggle of Afro-Asia, the co-operation and solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Latin America should be continously developed first of all with the peoples of Cuba who are directly facing American imperialism and who are facing fresh "inspectional" air intrusions of the US.

The Indonesian people will continue to exert efforts in order to make the unity among the African, Asian and Latin American peoples and their fighting solidarity grow and add in solidness by means of international solidarity actions against imperialism, colonialism neo-colonialism.

Mauritius.....

(*Continued from page 17*)

The apologists of the so-called coalition government put it that the constitution provides for a coalition government. In fact the constitution says that the Executive Council should reflect the composition of the Legislature. The leaders of the different political parties accepted this at the London Conference in 1961. It is natural that the minority and conservative parties should accept such a retrograde constitution. But what about the Mauritius Labour Party which in 1959 won the general elections with an overwhelming majority ? The leader of the Labour Party Dr. S. Ramgoolam ought to have put up a resistance to the reactionary proposals of the Secretary of State. But he gave way to temptation. The office of Chief Minister was offered to him. When he returned to Mauritius the journalists welcomed him enthusiasticaly. Yet to the intelligent observer's mind he had already become the tool of imperialism as he had betrayed the trust placed in him. The people had voted for independence in 1959 and not for alliance with the party of the sugar magnates, especially at a time when the unemployed in Mauritius were legion ?

The constitution was imposed upon the Labour party by the Secretary of State for the colonies, say the journalists in the pay of the British Imperialists. We might ask : Was there no Secretary of State to oppose the liberation struggle of a young Jomo Kenyatta, a Kwame Nkrumah, a Chedi Jaggan ? But then, these men were never afraid of the doors of Imperialist prisons shut on them.

The Labour Party again won the elections in 1963. Again the main plank in its platform was independence. Yet immediately after the elections as the head of a delegation which went to London, Dr. S. Ramgoolam who was offered the Premiership on condition that he would have in his cabinet ministers from the conservative parties accepted the reactionary proposals. Here was a turncoat indeed. He again betrayed the masses who had placed their trust in him. And all the way in the process of his becoming the tool of imperialists, the press gave him their support. His chain of papers naturally gave him their support. Those conservative papers which opposed him considering him as the leader of a socialist party now give him their fullest support. The result is that, at the time that I am writing this, there is no paper which opposes the coalition government of Mauritius which supports Great Britain and America which are really decided to make of Mauritius a military base. Forced to retreat from key points in Africa where the newly liberated states have forced them to pack up, they have retreated to Mauritius. Here, in one breadth the journalists as their masters, the imperialists and their tools, the local ministers talk of Independence and in the next breadth they bless Great Britain for making of Mauritius a military base in the interest of the jobless Mauritins. Here is a sorry state of affairs indeed.

The most urgent need of Mauritius is to have a truly socialist press prepared to lead courageously the fight for Socialism. The activities of socialist countries and the immense help they are giving to underdeveloped countries are practically unknown here. A socialist press would help to educate people and wipe out from their minds misconceived ideas, the heritage of two centuries of colonialism. The newly liberated states of Africa and Asia should think seriously of helping to liberate this country from the grip of the imperialists and their tools so that Mauritius might not continue to be a military base.

At present few young men and women are given opportunities to study the journalist's craft in socialist countries and the offices of socialist papers. This is a sad state of things, being given the fact that every year Mauritian journalists have opportunities to go to the capitalists countries. At the time that I am writing this article, more than half a dozen Mauritian journalists are in West Germany, France and Great Britain.

Young men and women should be given training in journalism in socialist countries. The role of a socialist press in the building up of a socialist country cannot be overemphaszed. The young men and women, coming back from socialist countries cannot but put their training to full use. They can serve as a bulwark against the propaganda of imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and their tools who are cunningly recruited from the ranks of the working classes themselves.

A socialist press with socialist journalists to run it has still to be built up this country which if left in the hands of imperialists can become a grave danger to the newly liberated African states. Mauritius has to be liberated. Its destiny cannot be seperated from that of Africa and to which it belongs geographically and historically as it is many times nearer to Africa and Asia than to Europe or America. And the majority of its inhabitants are the descendants of slaves from Africa and Madagascar and coolie immigrants from India. Let us hope that Afro-Asian journalists will give to this small country all the interest that it deserves.

We can do no better than end this article bv a quotation from a booklet recently published bv Mr. Teekaram Sibsurun, Secretary General of the Mauritius Peoples' Progressive Party.

"Socialism alone can bring peace and comfort to the homes of the workers of Mauritius. Unfortunately the propaganda hitherto made by the imperialists, the colonialists and the neocolonialists for long in the past has had such effect upon the people that words like Communism and Bolshevism are given all sorts of false meanings. Those who are religious minded — and most people of Mauritius are — consider communists to be atheists and terrorists. There are few people who really understand the meaning of the word socialist and fewer still who are truly socialists in this country. This is indeed a sorry state of things. What is most needed in Mauritius is to make the people understand really what socialism stands for. People should understand that the two great champions of Socialism China and the U.S.S.R. have been working hard for the world liberation movement. These two countries have been helping in every way the countries in Africa and Asia which have acceded to Independence. Most of the newly liberated states look up to these powerful champions of Socialism to protection against all dark designs from the part of imperialists and those who work for them.

An intensive propaganda machine has to be put into movement to create the healthy atmosphere for the reception of socialist ideas. Therein alone lies the salvation of the proletariat who have been betrayed by the very people who came to power by courting them in the name of progressive ideas."

The Philippine Press

(*Continued from page 25*)

It is a clear national and social duty, as well as a matter of professional and personal integrity, for Filipino journalists to expose foreign control in the Philippine press and the subversion of national purposes embraced by the Concept of the **Unifinished Revolution.** To be able to do this without fear of losing their respective jobs, and with greater courage of facing the worst imperialism can do, Filipino journalists have to unite and strengthen the National Press Club, and also within their respective news offices unionize as workers and consequently to federate into one labor federation with all other newspaper and other media workers in the entire country. This two-level approach must be so geared to confront the machinations of imperialist and pro-imperialist press managements.

These journalist organizations have to provide seminars and institutes in which the newsmen can discuss their problems and their role and responsibility. Through these, a progressive re-orientation is possible.

A regular newspaper, managed as a public organ by federated newsmen themselves, can be put up to serve as a vehicle for free expression so that what issues and facts which are suppressed in the capitalist-owned newspapers can be ventilated here.

The National Press Club can also put up its own national press agency and, in cooperation with the new emerging forces of the world, international press agencies. This will do away with the monopoly that the AP and UPI enjoy in the Philippines today.

At least at the moment, the National Press Club of the Philippines may very well cooperate within the Asian-African Journalists Association framework in putting up an Asian-African Press Agency which can truly tell the truth about Asia and Africa.

In the Philippines today, the issue of Malaysia demonstrates the urgent necessity for an Asian-African news agency. The American press agencies which monopolize the foreign news channels to the Philippines report on Malaysia in a way as to interpret the issue in an Anglo-American way and to subvert the Philippine position on Malaysia. There has been no fair balance between imperialist views and national views. The misreporting and slant on the Malaysia question by American press agencies has been one big factor in confusing the Filipino people.

To conclude, in order for the Philippine press to re-assume its proper role, it must rediscover its revolutionary tradition, integrate itself with the **Unfinished Revolution** on its new movement, and strengthen itself with a sense of confrontation against imperialist domination.

The Philippine press must not only maintain and advance its integrity and role but it must also work in cooperation and solidarity with Asian-African journalists, inspired by the Djakarta Declaration and the Spirit of Bandung. Only with such an internationalist spirit will the Philippine press know itself more, enhance its national position, and share with other journalists experience and victory.

African Liberation Day

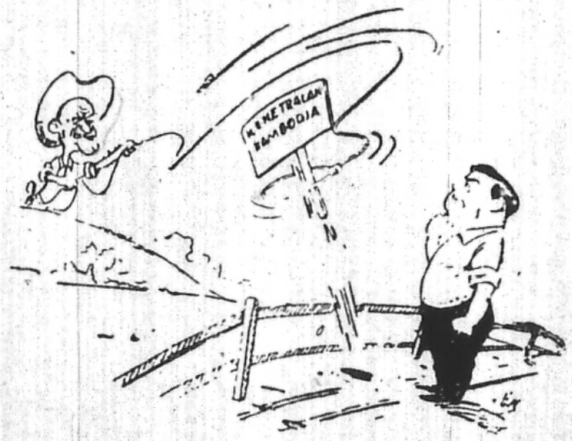
(*Continued from page 20*)

Various ways and means to popularise the 25th as *African Liberation Day,* will of course be worked out by the various African governments. This is a day when we journalists can help tremendously to popularise this historic occasion. Through our journals and magazines, through articles and commentaries can we highlight the struggles and achievements of the African people in their battle against colonialism and imperialism in all its forms and manifestations. This day should become a rallying point. A day when we must take stock, and declare with vigour and determination that the next year will witness still greater victories. This day also provides an opportunity for all our Asian brother to join hands with us, and cement still further our rock-like unity. A Unity which was still further cemented in the visit of Premier Chou en Lai to various African States, and the visits of various African heads of states, and governments, to Asia, culminating in the historic Meeting of Ministers in Preparation for the Second Asian-African Conference, which was preceded by the successful 6th session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council Meeting in Algiers, and followed by the Third Asian-African Film Festival in Djakarta. The victories, achievements and setbacks in Africa, are the victories, achievements and setbacks of Asia. Our common enemy, and our common struggle makes this an indisputable foct. We share a common destiny, a common heritage.

This recognition of the oneness of our struggle was so clearly manifested in the various resolutions adopted at the Main Conference last year of the AAJA, and in particular the resolution welcoming the Addis Ababa Heads of State Conference.

Let us use this day to rededicate ourselves to the struggle to completely eradicate imperialism and colonialism led by the USA, to further cement our rock-like solidarity, to continuously employ our pens in the service of the Afro-Asian Revolution, to work towards the convening of a Second Bandung Conference, and to expose all those forces who are opposed to Afro Asian Latin American solidarity.

Our commitment to the struggle demands us to take such a stand.



Cambodian Neutrality !

Afro—Asian Activities

Documents and Reports

March, April and May were months in which various important Afro-Asian events took place. Because of their immense importance to our struggle against our common enemy and our endeavours to build the world anew, free from the strangling tentacles of Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, we are including short reports on these events. In our determination to be the tools of the Afro-Asian Revolution, and to seek and to report the Truth, the following documents and reports provide us, revolutionary journalists, with a guiding light, in our daily day to day work.

*** The Meeting of Ministers in Preparation of the Second Asian-African Conference held in Djakarta from the 10th — 14th April.**

*** The Third Afro-Asian Film Festival, held in Djakarta from the 19.h April to the 5th May.**

*** The Sixth Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council Meeting**

Above : M.M.A.A. II in session :

* *Presidium of the M.M.A.A. II : Dr. Soebandrio (Indonesia) in the chair assisted by Cambodian, Afghanistan and Cameroon delegations.*

* *A.A.F.F. III in session :*

Mohamed Babu, Zanzibar foreign minister conversing with Said Abdullah Zanzibari delegate.

M. Veii from S.W. Africa looking on.

Document & Report I.

Second Bandung an Urgent Historical Necessity!

Says S. TAHSIN

Head... Foreign Department of the Indonesian Journalists Association.

The struggle of the Afro-Asian Peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has achieved a new victory with the very clear objectives of the Second AA Conference that has been decided upon in the Meeting of Ministers in Preparation of the Second AA Conference, held from 10 to 15 April, 1964 in Djakarta, Capital of the Indonesian Republic.

This preparatory conference, very clearly put a resolute stress on the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which stand is in utter accordance with the objective situation throughout both continents. Undeniably, the Peoples of Africa and Asia, today are seeing themselves the object of frustration, intervention, obstruction up to armed attacks by the imperialist, U.S. imperialism in the first place. It is no secret either that the other imperialist states would not be able to maintain themselves without getting considerable help from U.S. imperialism, in oppressing the struggle of the AA Peoples as we are witnessing in Angola, where the people are fighting Portuguese colonialism.

The Meeting of Ministers in Preparation of the Second AA Conference in Djakarta, has gained a tremendous success, because it was really manifesting the desire of the Peoples and governments of the AA countries to find common points, and carry out common tasks, through the principle of *musawarah* and *mufakat* (through consultation arriving at consensus of opinion). This has been stated by President Sukarno of Indonesia in his opening speech at this conference, "We need to decide what we are to do in this changing world of ours, this fast changing world that is borne along on a tide of transformation which is revolutionary in its impact upon our lives. We may not float without direction, leaving our peoples to the hazards of chance, letting them drift into some backwater of stagnation, leaving them to be buried beneath the flood. We must decide our direction, we must chart our course."

Indeed, a huge number of Afro Asian countries has emerged since the First Bandung Conference, as a result of this First Bandung Conference, — emerged out of the seething cauldron of the struggle of the Peoples themselves with the strong solidarity reflected by and radiating from the First Bandung Conference. All those countries have achieved a thing of paramount importance, national independence, — national independence which is a *conditio sine-qua-non* for whatever we want to achieve in the future. It is precisely herein that the difference lies between revolutionary Afro-Asia and certain people who want to make us believe, that the essential condition for progress is peace. The Indonesian People have a very true saying, a saying that at present has become the motto of many Peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America, "we love peace, but we love freedom even more."

Africa and Asia have gained many results out of their struggle, from their solidarity. But those achievements need to be consolidated, so that they will not get detached from their initial and principle objective, so that the word "freedom" will not become a hollow phrase.

Certainly, there are people, outside Afro-Asia, of course supported by their stooges — who are only willing to give Afro-Asia the mere stamp of "freedom", while everything remains under their domination, the economy, the foreign policy, internal affairs policy, defense, everything. The struggle against such deceptive methods, against this neo-colonialist schema of things was sharply spotlighted in this Meeting of Ministers in Djakarta.

Neo-colonialism at present, springs up everywhere, dominating the economy of certain countries and threatening the sovereignty of others. We see how neo-colonialism is rampaging in Africa, in the Congo, we see it in Asia too, in "Malaysia". But is it really true that the struggle of the Peoples and Governments of the AA countries should concentrate all their efforts and thoughts on the struggle for economic development? Indonesia's President Sukarno in his opening speech of the Conference, firmly said: This growth towards emancipation cannot be achieved it we only concentrate our strength upon economic and technical development when once we have obtained our political independence. Certainly, no one will deny that economic reconstruction and technical development are very impor-

(Continued on page 36)

COMMUNIQUE

I. At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and in pursuance of the recommendation adopted by the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955, that the five sponsoring countries consider, in consultation with the participating countries, the convening of the meeting of the next Conference, the representatives of the following African and Asian countries met in Djakarta from the 10th to the 15th of April 1964 to make preparations for the Second Conference:

1. Afganistan, 2. Algeria, 3. Cambodia, 4. Cameroon, 5. Ceylon, 6. People's Republic of China, 7. Ethiopia, 8. Ghana, 9. Guinea, 10. India, 11 Indonesia, 12. Iran, 13. Iraq, 14. Liberia, 15. Morocco, 16. Nepal, 17. Pakistan, 18. Philippines, 19. Syria, 20. Tanganyika, 21. Turkey, 22. United Arab Republic.

Imbued with the Bandung spirit of African-Asian solidarity and guided by the Ten Principles lain down by the First Asian-African Conference the meetings took place in a most cordial atmosphere.

II. It was unanimously re-affirmed that this juncture in international developments the convening of a Second African-Asian Conference was of paramount importance.

The First Conference having been held in Asia, it was decided that the Second African-Asian Conference be held in Africa on March 10th, 1965, at the level of Heads of State/Heads of Government, and that the selection of the Government which would serve as host to the Conference be left to the Organization of African Unity.

It was decided that a meeting of Foreign Ministers be held immediately before and in conjunction with the Second African-Asian Conference and that this meeting should pay special attention of the question of economic development and cooperation.

It was also decided to recommend that the governments of the countries invited to the Second African-Asian Conference who are represented in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development instruct their Heads of Delegations in Geneva to meet at the end of that United Nations Conference to review and evaluate its results in the lights of the provisional agenda of the Second African-Asian Conference with the view to formulating recommendations with regard to economic problems. African-Asian countries not represented in that United Nations Conference should be invited to participate in such a meeting.

III. The Meeting decided that the objectives of the Second African-Asian Conference would be as follows:

In consonance with the spirit of the First Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955, and taking note of the substantial increase in the number of independent nations and peoples in Africa and Asia since that Conference, and their enhanced role in international affairs:

1. to promote and strengthen mutual understanding and friendship among the nations and peoples of Africa and Asia and futher to exchange experiences and information for their common benefit:

2. to attain common understanding of the basic problems arising out of the revolutionary changes which have been taking place in all fields in the lives of the peoples in Africa and Asia in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the achievement of full and complete national independence;

3. to search for appropriate methods to ensure continuous and full cooperation among African-Asian nations for the development of African-Asian solidarity on the basis of equality, mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs;

4. to make policies for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the renunciation of threat or use of force in international relations;

5. to revive the spiritual heritage of the African and Asian peoples and to exploit fully their natural resources so as to utilize them for their moral and material advancement and the development of their national identities on the basis of political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and cultural self-assertion;

6. to formulate guiding principles and to devise practical measures which would:

(a) further inspire the peoples of Africa and Asia in their continuing struggle against all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination, and foreign economic exploitation;

(b) secure the restoration of their lawful rights of domicile to populations evicted from their ancestral homes as a result of imperialist and colonialist designs, and also in violation of human rights;

(c) ensure complete emancipation of countries which are still under foreign domination;

thereby permitting the countries of Africa and Asia to play their legitimate role in this changing word in a constructive and progressive way towards justice, prosperity and peace among nations, based on respect for fundamental human rights and the rule of international law;

7. to strengthen economic, social and cultural cooperation among the countries of Africa and Asia as a means of consolidating and safeguarding their independence and raising the standards of living of their peoples.

IV. In accordance with the objectives set out in the preceding paragraph the following provisional agenda for the Second African-Asian Conference was agreed upon:

1. General Review of the international situation in the light of the First Asian-African Conference and an appraisal of the Ten Principles of Bandung.

2. Decolonization and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

3. Human Rights:

a. Racial discrimination and apartheid,

b. Genocide.

4. World peace and disarmament:

a. Strict international control.

b. Prohibition of all types of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.

c. Non-dissemination of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

d. Creation of nuclear free zones.

e. Complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.

5. The peaceful settlement of international disputes and the renunciation of the threat or use of force in international relations:

a. Basic principles for the settlement of African-Asian disputes.

6. The strengthening of the United Nations:

a. Review of the United Nations Charter.

b. Observance of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

c. Implementation of United Nations resolutions by its members.

7. Economic development and cooperation:

a. Review of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in particular the position of African-Asian countries vis-a-vis the industrialized countries.

b. Basic principles for the cooperation amongst African and Asian countries towards economic emancipation.

8. Cultural cooperation.

9. Peaceful co-existence:

a. Basic principles of peaceful coexistence.

10. The desirability of the establishment of a permanent Secretariat to facilitate effective cooperation amongst Afro-Asian Conference.

V. A. It was decided that the following countries be invited to the Second African-Asian Conference:

a. All the 29 countries in Africa and Asia which participated in the Bandung Conference

b. Countries in Africa, members of the O.A.U.

(*Continued on page 36*)

Communique contd.

c. Countries in Africa and Asia which will become independent between now and the convening of the Second Afro-Asian Conference

d. The following : Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, Cyprus, Kuwait, West Samoa, The Provisional Government of Angola.

B. Representatives of all National Movements from non-selfgoverning territories recognized by the O.A.U. in Africa and from Asia, which have not yet attained independence, may come to the Conference with the right to be heard and the host country is requested to provide facilities for their attendance. This provision should also apply to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Oman, Aden and Palestine.

C. With regard to the composition of the Second African-Asian Conference,

1. It was proposed that an invitation be extended to the U.S.S.R. Some delegations supported and others opposed the proposal to extend an invitation to the U.S.S.R. A number of delegations stated that they needed consultation with their government. After discussion no consensus could be reached.

Some delegations were of the view that the matter may be placed before the Heads of State/Government at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Some other delegations were against submitting this matter to the Heads of States/Governments at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Therefore, no agreement was reached.

2. It was also proposed that an invitation be extended to Malaysia. In this case, it was hoped that the obstacles which prevented reaching a consensus on the invitation would be eliminated. In this case an invitation should be extended as soon as possible. Some countries that recognized Malaysia stated their position that Malaysia was fully entitled to an invitation and should be invited.

VI. The Meeting unanimously expressed the hope that the Second African-Asian Conference, like the First Conference held in Bandung, would make a significant contribution to the solidarity and complete emancipation of the African-Asian Countries as well as the growth of friendly cooperation among nations, the promotion of universal respect for human rights, and the attainment of lasting peace.

VII. The participants expressed their deep appresiation to the initiative taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in convening the Preparatory Meeting, of the excellent arrangenments made, and the gracious hospitality extended to them by the host Government.

Second BANDUNG .....
(Continued from page 34)

tant for modern society. But this is not the immediate weapon for us to use against domination in all its forms:"

Furtheron President Sukarno explained which weapon we should use in our struggle of today, namely "Our best weapon in this struggle against domination lies in preserving Asian-African solidarity during this process of growth in which we try to find new concepts ..... Let us not deceive ourselves into believing that we can abolish domination through economic means. That is not possible."

This Meeting of Ministers constitutes a tremendous victory for the revolutionary Afro-Asian Peoples, because it has cleared the way for the holding of the Second AA Conference, and has laid the basis of this conference — this is of great significance — as can be gathered clearly from the final communique issued by the Preparatory Conference.

The Meeting of Ministers demonstrated a highly unanimous determination from the beginning till the end. Only nearing the end, a false note was struck by the Indian delegation when they proposed to make the Soviet Union and "Malaysia" members of the Second AA Conference.

The Afro-Asian Journalists in their First Conference in Djakarta have taken a firm stand towards this question. The journalists of the Soviet Union were not admitted as members of the AAJA, because inter alia the Soviet Union indeed is not an Asian country, although part of its territory and People do lie in Asia. The participants to the AAJC will of course still remember the vehement discussions then, but common sense and an intense revolutionary realism of the objective political regional situation, its important role in deciding our tactics in meeting headlong imperialism and colonialism finally prevailed. However, the participants to the AAJC naturally still remember that it was precisely again the Indian delegation, which proposed membership for the Soviet Union, that created enough tension and who did not want to sign the Djakarta Declaration.

And because they became isolated in the AAJC, the Indian journalists immediately changed their course and supported ardently the so called non-aligned conference pioneered by Yugoslavia and India. It is the right of the countries of Africa and Asia as well as of Latin America to participate or not, in this non-aligned conference, but it is our right too, to raise some matters that are not appropriate in the conception of this non-aligned conference.

If India, who evidently has military ties with the US and Britain ; and if Venezuela — who was proposed to participate in the non-aligned conference by Yugoslavia in spite of Cuban protests — whom the whole world knows not only has military agreements with the US but is the springboard for all the subversion against socialist Cuba, attends the non-aligned conference, then the question irrisistibly forces itself on us : is this really non-alignment ?

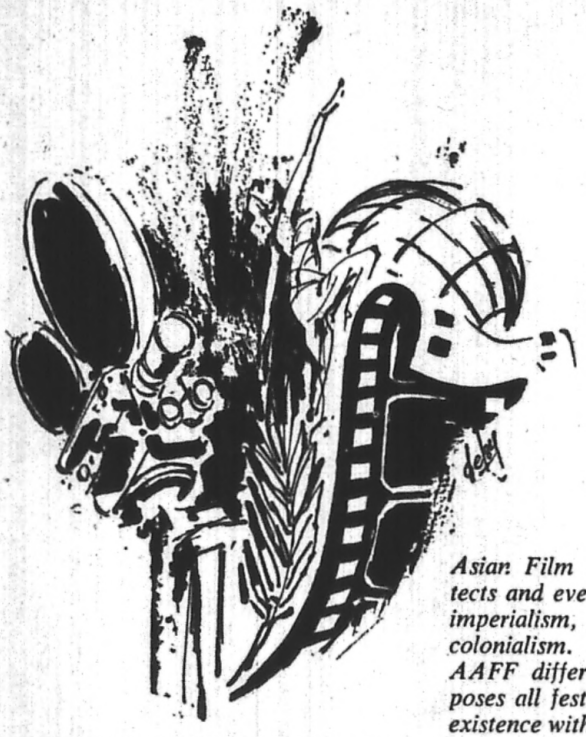
The Meeting of Ministers in Preparation of the Second AA Conference states firmly in the objectives of the Second AA Conference , that the Second AA Conference is being held "to attain common understanding of the basic problems arising out of the revolutionary changes which have been taking place in all fields in the lives of the peoples in Africa and Asia in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the achievement of full and complete independence."

Such is the basis for the struggle of Afro-Asia, indluding that of its journalists, and this objective is in complete accord with what has been achieved in April 1963 in Djakarta.

It is therefore the genuine task of the Afro-Asian journalists to explain more extensively this Second AA Conference, because its final success is also the responsibility of the AA journalists, such a success will also render a contribution to the struggle of the AA journalists themselves as has been laid down in the Djakarta Declaration.

Let's go onward, never retreat !

—oOc—



THIRD AAFF integrates AA film in AA peoples struggle

says Joebaar Ajoeb

From 19 to 30 April, 1964, the Third Afro-Asian Film Festival was held in Djakarta. Dr. Sukarno, President of the Indonesian Republic, in his speech addressing the "closing Ceremony of the Third AAFF" in the State Palace, inter-alia said, that "the Third AAFF has achieved a magnificent success". The President expressed this conclusion after having listened to the "Report of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Third AAFF and Chairman of the Indonesia National Committee for the Third AAFF, Mrs. Suryadarma", the "Communique of the Third AAFF," and the "Decision of the Council of the Jury to the Third AAFF".

Why could President Sukarno, together with public opinion, conclude that the Third AAFF had obtained a tremendous success ?

First and foremost, because the Third AAFF has held aloft fully, the banners of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-neo-colonialism. And, consequently, The Third AAFF has raised highly the banners of "films should become weapons in the hands of the people". This is a very important feature of the Third AAFF and makes it different from other international festivals like the ones of Cannes, Moscow and Carlovivary. Moreover, compared to the Asian Film Festival, the AAFF is entirely its opposite. For the AAFF aims at fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, whereas the Asian Film Festival actually protects and even constitutes a tool of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In short, the Third AAFF differs from and even opposes all festivals that pursue "co-existence with imperialist ideology", or the festivals of which the objective is "peace for peace's sake".

The character of the Third AAFF as explained above, is not an abstract one. It is a character that in a realistic way reflects the general character of the films shown during the AAFF, the general character of the "Third AAFF Communique" and of the "Decisions of the Council of the Jury to the Third AAFF".

More than 60 films, including feature, documentary and educational or films for children, coming from 26 Afro-Asian countries, have been shown during the Third AAFF.

The majority of these films displayed the resoluteness of the anti-imperialist and anticolonialist ideology of the Peoples of Africa and Asia. Most of the films depicted the wealth, the traditions and the national cultural aspirations of these peoples.

Films such as "The Red Flower" from the DPR of Korea, "The Song of a cart" from Japan, "Red Detachment of Women" from the PR of China, "Open is the Gate" from the UAR, "Kim Dong" from the DR of Vietnam, "Dirty hands" from Indonesia, all gave us evidence, that besides possessing a high ideological level, they also manifested that high artistic values have been given shape by the Afro-Asian film workers by drawing from abundant cultural traditions and a flaming ideology of struggle.

The films, from the ideological as well as from the artistic point of view have an original character, have personality, the Afro-Asian personality that is struggling, advancing and developing. It is therefore, that films that display an ideology of "self satisfied-ness" (an ideology that is the negative response from countries that have already become independent — an attitude that they have reached the end goal of the revolution, and need not still continue the struggle against imperialism and colonialism with the same revolutionary vigour), films that artistically are imitating the American films with their cheap and empty sensations, did not gain approval of the festival and were not appraised by the Jury.

A further speciality of the Third AAFF was the great number of African countries that participated in it. The documentary films from Zanzibar, Zambia, Somali, Mali and the one from Uganda too, all were depicting crystal clear : that the African Peoples have used the film to struggle against the enemies of their ideology for national independence.

Those African films, for a part, had indeed been made with very simple equipment. However, because they were able to capture the truth and the dynamism of Africa, these films were radiating the beauty of their genuine art.

That is why the national film art of the Peoples of Africa and Asia have created and continue to create new and progressive artistic values, that are in conformity with the new conditions of fighting, revolutionary, Afro-Asia.

The next problem of Afro-Asian cinematography is the problem of setting up and developing the national industry and filmart of the Peoples of Afro-Asia.

A dramatic scene from the Bandung Awarded "A Red Flower" (Korea) where little Li Yin Suk realises how little he appreciated his blind mother.

Below : Japanese delegate meeting Indonesian Stars

The road of such a development is a road of struggle. The Afro-Asian film industry and art can only grow if they are "master in their own homes". This is only possible if the Afro-Asian film workers as well as the Afro-Asian film integrate themselves with the struggle of the Afro-Asian Peoples and drive out all imperialist domination of the film, in the first place that of United States' imperialism, from Afro-Asian soil.

Just as national independence and democracy are prerequisite conditions for an independent development of the national culture of the Afro-Asian Peoples, in the same way, liberating Afro-Asia from the domination of imperialist films is a condition sine qua-non for the development of the national film of the Afro-Asian Peoples, from the industrial, cultural as well as the artistic point of view.

The Afro-Asian Peoples should endeavour and struggle firmly, to free themselves from their dependency on great monopoly capital of the imperialists with regard to basic materials for the film. Therefore, the establishment of an industry of basic materials for the Afro-Asian film is a problem of vital importance.

Side by side with this, are other important questions, such as the exchange and trade of films among the Afro-Asian countries. The exchange, trade, cooperation in the production of Afro-Asian films as well as the mutual exchange of experiences between the Afro-Asian film workers, naturally should be arranged in the interest of the Afro-Asian Peoples and not for the benefit of imperialism.

The AAFF has ended, but it has been closed with the beginning of a new struggle. In Indonesia, the cultural and film workers, together with mass organisations of the Indonesian People have launched a boycott action against all films of U.S. imperialism. This action is continuing successfully.

The Third AAFF has ended. But it has ended in new victories for the Afro-Asian Peoples ; the First AAFF in Tashkent was attended by 14 countries, the Second AAFF in Cairo by 12 countries and the Third AAFF in Djakarta saw 26 countries participating.

This all clearly shows the ever growing potential of the AA cinematography, the ever broadening and strengthening of the unity of the AA Peoples.

The Third AAFF has demonstrated that the national forces of the Afro-Asian Film have integrated and still are integrating themselves with the lofty and historic struggle and aspirations of the Peoples of Africa and Asia.

COMMUNIQUE

THE THIRD African-Asian Film Festival which was attended by delegates of 26 countries and which took place in Djakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia from 19th-30th April, 1964, unanimously resolves to put an end to imperialist domination in the film world in Africa and Asia and develop our national cinematography as well as African-Asian cinematograph- in general. inspirel by a democratic, freedom-loving and peace-loving spirit.

The peoples of the continents of Africa and Asia have, over a very long period of time, been oppressed by imperialism and have waged a struggle for national independence, and therefore, we, the artists and film-workers of these continents took an active part in the Third AAFF in order jointly to seek a common path for the development of our cinematography as part of our national culture.

We are deeply conscious of the useful role of African-Asian film Festivals, in particular as a form for the exchange of experiences and for the exchange of opinion, in the interests of building up our own cinematography ideologically, politically as well as artistically.

We stress the significance of the Third AAFF which was held under the slogans "The Third AAFF against imperialist and neo-colonialist 'culture'" and "The Third AAFF strengthens A-A peoples' solidarity". We deeply appreciate the speech of Dr. Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, at the opening of the Festival, which was inspired by a spirit of opposing imperialist cinematography and all other manifestations of imperialism, and we appreciate the work undertaken by the Indonesian National Commitee for the Third AAFF with the full support of the national front of the Indonesian people..

We are profoundly conscious of the significance of the film as the most powerful means of propaganda and education, and we are therefore no longer — as has been the case for the past several decades — to be merely audiences or objects. We once and for all declare ourselves to be the subjects and the creators of films and we shall continue to play this role which we are convinced, will become greater and greater with every passing day.

We agree that the differences in political outlook as well as in artistic attitude does not and should not be an obstacle in the way of healthy co-operation between us, in order, in a spirit of competition, to promote our national cinematography in content and in art form, to develop a dynamic film industry and film art in Afro-Asian countries which have newly don independence, and to promote cooperation in exchanging experiences in film work and films.

We, producers, scenario-writers, directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, composers, decordesigners, all film workers of Africa-Asia, who form an inseparable part of the people and of the struggle of our people, who are inspired by the struggle of our peoples and of the progressive people, the new emerging forces throughout the world for national independence, democracy, justice and peace, who are resolved to dedicate our talents and skill to support this mighty struggle are unanimously agreed to work together to develop the Ten Principles of Bandung and the Spirit of Bandung. Thus we together with our peoples are determined to end once and for all the vestiges of imperialism and feudalism within society and in the thoughts of the people, to build a new society that is free from the exploitation of man by man, by developing our respective national forces to the maximum possible degree and in a spirit of mutual assistance, solidarity and cooperation.

We enthusiastically welcome the decisions of the Meeting of Ministers in preparation of the Second Afro-Asian Conference which was held in Djakarta recently, and we shall, with all the means and strength at our disposal, help do everything to support that Conference which is to be convened at the beginning of next year so that it will become a success.

We are conscious that the domination of the imperialists in the world of film in our two continents, in particular US imperialist domination, not only poses a threat to the existence of our respective national film industries but also — and this is even more important — it also poses a threat to our national cultures and our national indentities, because imperialist films, in particular Hollywood films disseminate various attitudes, philosophies and ways of life that are poisoning the peoples, like racialism, pacifism, war-hysteria, etc. If all this is tolerated or not sufficiently opposed, it will definitely wreck our peoples. physically and mentally.

We are determined to oppose inperialism in all its manifestations like aggression, subversion and all its other intolerable acts, in culture as well as in other fields, to support all liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and to make use of the weapon in our hand — the film — to this end.

We are, furthermore, determined to turn the film into the most effective possible weapon for the education of the masses of the people in a spirit of patriotism and democracy, in a freedom-loving and peace-loving spirit.

We express our gratitude to the Indonesian people for their cordial welcome, and we are resolved to develop our co-operation to oppose our common enemy and to attain our common ends.

We have agreed to hold the Fourth AAFF in 1966 in the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Pyongyang.

We call upon our progressive brother artists and film-workers in Latin America and throughout the world, the new emerging forces in the old order included, together with the artists and film-workers of Africa and Asia, to strengthen co-operation, to build the world anew, a world free from imperialism and neo-colonialim, free from the exploitation of man by man.

Djakarta, April 30th, 1964

On behalf the
Third AAFF

The Presidium

1. People's Republic of China
2. Democratic People's Republic of Korea
3. Republic of Mali
4. People's Republic of Zanzibar
5. L e b a n o n
6. J a p a n
7. Kalimantan Utara
8. Democratic Republic of Vietnam
9. Liberation National Front South Vietnam
10. M o n g o l i a
11. U.S.S.R.
12. A f g h a n i s t a n
13. P a k i s t a n
14. South West Africa
15. T u n i s i a
16. S o m a l i
17. C o n g o
18. U g a n d a
19. United Arab Republic
20. I n d i a
21. Z a m b i a
22. The Philippines
23. I r a q
24. C u b a
25. I n d o n e s i a
26. M a l a y a

Document - Report III

A Consolidation of Afro - Asian Solidarity

by
Francisca Fanggiday

In the People's Republic of Algeria, with its heroic people, that just has succeeded in shattering the chains of colonialism and imperialism in a long, unrelenting and fierce struggle, that has resulted in millions of sacrifices of the People and freedom patriots ; in its capital Algiers, amiable-beautiful, yet still breathing the spirit of the Revolution — there it was that the VIth Council Session of the AAPSO was held from 22 — 27 March 1964. Besides the 54 participating AA countries, observers from independent Afro-Asian organisations were also present, like the AAJA — the Afro-Asian Journalist Association, — the Permanent Bureau of AA Writers and the Conference of AA Lawyers.

In his reports on the political situation, the Secretary General to the AAPSO, Jusuf Shibai as the first speaker stressed the following : "Every new meeting of our Organisation confronts new responsililities and tasks for the consolidation of our Movement, realisation of our peoples' national aspirations, assertion of genuine and effective solidarity within our ranks, ..." "Our duty is to adhere to the 10 great Bandung Principles, the five principles of peaceful co-existence between States of different social systems, but our duty, even before this, is to adhere to the lofty principles of solidarity between the peoples of Asia and Africa, to rally to our ranks, before anything else, around the struggle for the national liberation of those who are still suffering from brutal imperialist domination, around solidarity for the development of cooperation among all peoples of Asia and Africa in all fields."

Two great problems are being faced all at once, although to the Council Session of the AAPSO they form the problem of each AA people, each solidarity movement of AA within as well as independently outside the framework of the AAPSO. The two problems mentioned are : 1. how to achieve a most sincere and efficient AA solidarity ; 2. how to strengthen the struggle of the AA peoples for national independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In relation with those two problems, the question arises : What evaluation is there on the status of AA organisations that are independent — will they be considered a potential force within ? — or will they be regarded as obstructive elments outside the AA Peoples' Solidarity Movement ?

Every revolutionary movement, however correct its political definition, if it is not accompanied by decisions about ways of practical application together with concrete actions directly aimed at its target, will remain mere words written black on white. Thus, the VIth Council Session of the AAPSO has correctly included two main items in the field of organisation as follows :

1) Practical ways and means for the consolidation of AA solidarity.
2) Concrete steps for assisting the liberation struggle in Africa and Asia for the liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In the course of the discussions on those two main items, it came out clearly that the *leitmotiv* that formed the basis of every argumentation was : the problem of AA solidarity and the anti-imperialist struggle. Two great problems, that aroused sharp statements during the discussion on the execution of three great events, the holding of an AA Economic Seminar, the AA Trade Union Conference and the holding of the AA Women's Conference.

Two attitudes and two lines differing from each other as day and night were prevailing all along the sessions. Does this imply that Afro-Asian unity and solidarity are at stake ? One thing was clear, that in fact, the stating of two attitudes and two lines was not only limited to two parties, but **summoned the conscience and responsibility of every freedom fighter.**

There were certain people who admitted "imperialism headed by the US, to be the main threat to the peace and freedom of the peoples" and that it was wrong "to overlook the danger they represent for the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia and Africa." But they neglected to unmask the tactics, machinations and intrigues of the imperialists. They stated without hesitation that they were on the side of the Peoples that were struggling against imperialism. But at the same time they were planting seeds of doubt against themselves by stating that "the most favourable conditions for developing national liberation revolutions, liquidating colonial and racist regimes, are stengthening political and economic independence, which can only be created by peaceful co-existence of States with different social systems." They stressed that "under these conditions more than 50 former colonies achieved state-independence". They explained, that "disintegration of colonial empires in the last two decades has taken place in conditions of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems."

We do not want to sharpen the problem by asking what the feelings of the freedom fighters in South Vietnam, in Angola, in Mozambique, in the Conggo, in North Kalimantan, in Venezuela —, indeed, in Algeria too, and in Cuba that have won their independence at a very high cost, an extremely high cost ! that is with blood and tears, body and soul are ..... Enough to quote the words of two genuine representatives of Africa and Asia. Mrs. Moumié, the wife of the late national Cameroon leader Dr. Felix Roland Moumié : "Between the road of the revolution and that of neo-colonialist serfdom, the

Cameroon People have firmly chosen the magnificent road of the armed struggle ..... The facts show that the victory does not depend on arms and the goodwill of the imperialists, but on the undauntless determination of the People that have dedicated themselves to a just cause." Ardously she poses the question : "How can we have universal peace and disarmament as long as imperialism and neo-colonialism are still alive ? The imperialists headed by the US are very much in need of arms to carry out their aggressive policy towards our countries and towards the people of their own countries ...".

Said, Huynh Van Tam, leader of the delegation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam ; "The People everywhere in the world must be aware that they can never hope for goodwill from the imperialists, first of all the USA ..... It is impossible to go begging from the imperialists or to compromise with them ... Our people, during the last years have courageously set out on a political struggle. The imperialists and their lackeys have launched a large scale war of aggression, and our People had no other way but to take up arms and carry out a strong resistance. It is exactly this attitude of responding that has become the source of our victories."

There were certain people who talked about establishing an economic commission within the scope of the AA Solidarity Movement, that would be given the task of collecting and circulating economic information, studying and summarizing the economic experience of the Afro-Asian countries etc., because they thought the problem of social and economic development as of "extreme importance". But they did not mention a single word about the problem of political freedom that has to be conquered with arms from imperialism as a prerequisite condition for achieving economic independence.

We agree with the fact that political independence cannot be complete without economic independence. But never turn around the problem that economic independence is a condition sine qua non for political freedom. It is really stimulating and gladdening the hearts of the AA peoples who are fighting for political and economic independence in their countries, to hear with pride the decision of the Meeting of Ministers in Preparation of the Second AA Conference, that "the emphasise is put on giving further incentive to the AA Peoples in the incessant struggle against imperialism, all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination and foreign economic exploitation .....", and furtheron that "the Second AA Conference will endeavour to advance and strengthen mutual understanding and friendship among the nations and Peoples of both continents, strengthen economic, social and cultural cooperation among the AA countries based on political sovereignty, self-reliance in the economic field and development of their own culture."

There are certain people who deliberately want to bring into the orbit of the AAPSO, the activities of various independent AA bodies, not on basis of solidarity and mutual strengthening, but on a basis of subservience to their warped ideas as to what AA solidarity means — ideas which are based on an attitude of dominance.

These people are not at all happy with the birth of various fraternal AA organisations that are independently existing besides the AAPSO and which are representing militant ranks of the People. They consider such organisations "the gravest danger of disrupting and weakening the AA solidarity movement and in violation of its principles." It is in this regard important to note what has been stated by the Indonesian delegation as its conviction that "the fraternal Afro-Asian movements such as the Afro-Asian Writers Conference, Afro-Asian Journalist Association, Afro-Asian Jurists Conference etc., which carry on their activities independently along the solidarity principles will continue to develop and dealing telling blows to the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists. These independent fraternal Afro-Asian organizations have contributed effectively to the struggle and they will continue to consolidate and enhance Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism on the basis of the Bandung Spirit."

Two different attitudes and approaches, not only in the political domain but also in that of organization. But, is Afro-Asian unity and solidarity therefore at stake ? No ! Never have the unity and solidarity of Afro-Asia in facing the future been so magnificent ! And it will be growing ever as long as it will be leaning on an active and consequent anti-imperialist struggle of the AA People.

We have been wittnesses to the struggle of the kinds of approaches, namely the revolutionary and the non-revolutionary ones. Limiting the question to "a quarrel between two big sides" only, is oversymplifying the question, and is not realistic, becauce it involves the essence of the struggle of the Peoples themself for complete national independence, against its main enemies : imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism : as arch-enemies, that cannot be pacified or by petting be persuaded to negotiate. We all have stood witness to the only realistic attitude taken by the participants to the VIth Council Meeting of the AAPSO, not to seek a "survival" in the fight between two "giants", but to start from one's own maximum national interests, blended with our international duties.

The General Declaration, the General Political Resolution and 40 Special Resolutions, all vigorously denounce imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in the first place US imperialism and state their full support to the peoples engaged in the struggle for complete national independence. The statements of the participants, in the main stess solidarity, and unity of Afro-Asia-that is resolutely anti-imperialist and the necessity of armed struggles against the imperialist forces. In the field of organisation, the decision that "contacts between the Secretariate and member organisations ..... also applies to the organisation on its various levels with friendly organisations struggling for similar aims" demonstrates the victory of the revolutionary and dynamic principle over conservative and conventional and therefore not democratic methods.

The AAJA, that is starting inter alia from the Djakarta Declaration declares itself "to dedicate itself to the struggle against imperialism-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations .....", "to fostering AA solidarity in all spheres ....." and "loyalty to the Bandung Spirit", cannot but hail the decisions of the VIth Council Session of the AAPSO and wishes it greater success in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Ceylon:

Report on 6th National Congress:

(continued from page 16)

The Sixth National Congress of the Ceylon Journalists' Association, which was held on February 29th, 1964, in Colombo, unanimously passed, among other resolutions, two resolutions, one reaffirming the association's co-operation to the International Organisation of Journalists of which it is a member, and the other reassuring the association's solidarity with the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association the headquarters of which is established in Djakarta, Indonesia, to achieve its objective of fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly in Afro-Asian countries.

The fact that the sixth national congress was a tremendous success proves the acceptability and correctness of the aims and objectives of the association.

The General Secretary, Mr. Dharmasiri Dayakody, reviewing the past year's activities, said that the association had made notable progress during the year in implementing its decisions taken at various times to assist the Government to put into effect its policy towards the Press, and also to improve the working conditions of the journalists.

He said in appointing the Press Commission, the Government had accepted a majority of the suggestions of the association.

The congress unanimously passed resolutions (a) urging the Government to break the monopoly of the press without any delay and re-assuring the association's support to the Government in this task (b) authorising a delegation of the association to give evidence before the Press Commission (c) appealing to the Government to restrict the import of journals from India, which are detrimental to the national unity and sovereignty of Ceylon (d) endorsing the memoranda prepared by a seminar organised by the association dealing with the working conditions of outstation correspondents of newspapers which exploit them (e) calling upon the association to make further attempts to unite all journalists in Ceylon (f) re-assuring the association's support and co-operation to the IOJ and the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association to achieve their respective aims and objectives.

The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year: —

President: Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake; Vice-presidents: Udakendawela Saranankara Thero, Messrs. H.D. Wijedasa, D.H. Abesinghe and S. Ilankiran; General Secretary: Mr. Dharmasiri Dayakody; Asst. Secretaries: Messrs. D. Manuweera and H.M.P. Mohideen; Organising Secretary: M. Kodagoda; Treasurer: Mr. Gunasoma Samarasinghe; Asst. Treasurer: Mrs. Sita Abeywickrema.

A Central Executive Committee of 26 members were also elected.

Resolution on AAJA

"The Ceylon Journalists' Association re-assures its solidarity, as a secretariat member, to the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association which is an organisation of journalists of different countries of Asia and Africa, headquarters of which is established in Djakarta, Indonesia, to fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the U.S. and to achieve national independence, freedom and self-determination and peace for all nations of Afro-Asia, to support the struggles of the peoples in Latin America and the rest of the world and to fight for professional rights undermined by the press-monopolists and magnates who are mere tools in the hands of imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and other reactionaries".

Upon what meat doth our Caesar feed, that he is grown so great (Julius Caesar- Shakespeare).

What Our papers Say

* Mozambican Revolution :

Our motherland Mozambique is dominated, exploited and oppressed by Portugal and by those who support her colonial policy. But our people are united in the common desire for liberty. Our struggle is progressing rapidly. Inspite of difficulties our victory will not be delayed.

* Nhan Dan (Hanoi) :

It was clear that in the face of such aggressive and bellicose imperialists as the US, there was no other way out to defend peace and national independence than to struggle resolutely against them.

To believe in the "goodwill" of the US imperialists, and give up the struggle only means to give them an inch so that they will take an ell.

* Ghanaian Times (Accra) :

The people of Basutoland wanted the achievement of independence at the shortest possible time. The British government rejected their demand by arbitrary saying that the decision on the date of independence should be left over until the new Parliament "has had adequate time to weigh carefully and argue the issues involved by proximity and economic and military might of South Africa."

The present state of Basutoland people are not so much concerned with economic problems as with their basic freedom. Neither South Africa racist regime, nor any British intrigue could deter the Basuto nation from demanding independence.

* Dawn (Karachi) :

American policies in the international sphere seem to be based on the motto that America's global interests alone must prevail and all other countries and peoples own interests and even their conscience to provide grist to the mills of America' global strategy.

Pakistan will not sacrifice her sovereignty nor independence to pursue policies which she considers not in her own interest and conductive to Asian solidarity and world peace.

* Spotlight on South Africa :

In Africa, unity has to be a practical fact to be meaningful for it is not only an indispensable weapon in the struggle for total independence but is also the key to the solution of many vexing and complex problems which are a legacy of our colonial past.

The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar is unity in reality. It represents an achievement that speaks in loud praise of the calibre of the leaders who have brought it into being and of their faithful devotion to the tenets of the Addis Ababa Charter.

And, lest we forget, a United Africa is incompatible with White minority rule, much less with White domination.

* Ludu (Rangoon) :

The Angolan patriotic armed forces fighting against Portuguese colonialism now controlled the entire Northern Angola and the influence would certainly spread to the South.

Portuguese colonialism and the Nato military bloc headed by US imperialism which is assisting it in suppressing the Angolan people will be doomed to failure and will have to withdraw from Angolan soil eventually.

* Himalchuli (Kathmandu-Nepal):

Seato, an aggressive military bloc, always strives to bring havoc to the world, especially in Asia, and becomes ever ready to minister to the hateful interests of the imperialists, but the Djakarta Conference stood for the noble interests of the people.

The Djakarta Conference, a symbol of the sacred feeling of the African-Asian people, contributed to the world peace, whereas Seato Conference, a sign of conspiracy and fraud against the Asian people, moved against world peace.

* Al-Massa (Cairo) :

The US action of freezing the assets of the Vietnam Democratic Republic in the US and the stopping of any dealings with the V.D.R. "will not harm North Vietnam but will increase the destruction of the US name, as a country that imposes its policy upon others and boycotts the peoples and governments of other nations". This measure would not help the bad situation of the US.

* Nyanza Times (Nairobi) :

The recent entry of the ships of the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean was aimed at threatening the East African countries and interfering in their internal affairs

..... The Sixth Fleet in the Meditereanean was used in pursuing the imperialist policy of the US in Cyprus, and was a great threat to the independence and security of the North African countries.

The African governments were fully justified to demand that foreign troops withdraw from African territory. The African peoples would definitely achieve their aim that not a single foreign military base or a single foreign soldier will remain on African soil.

* The Indonesian Herald :

The US through her Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, renewed its threats to cut its aid to this country, unless Indonesia follows the US policy on the "Malaysia" issue.

Everybody knows well that foreign aid, be it military or economic or technical, too often does nothing but preserve the national interests of the donor country. In such cases aid is sometimes no more than a pretext for continued domination over another country.

So far as Indonesia is concerned, we would not give up our hard-won independence for which we have paid so dearly with sweat, tears and blood, just for the sake of some millions of US dollars.

We are not prepared to sell our souls.

* Rodong Shimoon (Pyongyang) :

The question of "reorganising" the troops, raised by the Laotian reactionaries, was nothing but a vicious scheme of the US imperialists to swallow up the troops, of the neutralist faction and to disintegrate those of the neo Lao Haksat.

The military coup in Vientiane and subsequent manoeuvres engineered by the US imperialists were a continuation of their aggressive activities in Laos.

All the aggressive activities and other intrigues of the US imperialist were doomed to failure. The struggle of the Laotian people for peace, neutrality, independence democracy, unification and prosperity would certainly be crowned with victory.

NEWS and VIEWS

CAMBODIA

* Another massacre of Cambodians and violation of Cambodian territory took place on the 7th and 8th May by the puppet Khahn troops assisted and under the direction of Yankee troops. 6 farmers were killed and their property looted. In our next issue we hope to further acquiant our collegues of this wanton act of gross murder that gives the big lie to the "changed nature" of imperialism and its lackeys. Our sympathy and solidarity and our support to our Cambodian journalists colleagues in their life and death struggle for neutrality and peace.

JAPAN

* The Japan Congress of Journalists has together with 3 other national popular democratic organisations formed the committee for the Relief of Chinese Trade Representatives and Others in Brazil, and have decided to send a top team of 7 Japanese lawyers to Brazil to investigate the circumstances and conditions of the 2 Chinese journalists and 7 trade representatives who are illegally being held in the Brazillian jails. Our sincere congratulations to our Japanese colleagues and the promise that together with them and all other Afro-Asian Journalists we will continue to press for the release of colleagues Wang Wei-chen and Chu Ching-tung.

IRAN

* A very encouraging letter has reached us from our colleague, Jahangir Behrouz, from Teheran noting the popularity, as well as the contents of the Afro-Asian Journalist. We assure colleague Behrouz, that we will keep up the revolutionary organising standard of the Afro-Asian Journalist.

A.A.J. DAY

* More and more reports of activities and news articles on the occasion of the AAJ Day is pouring into our office. Iran, Ceylon, Philippines are some of the latest.

MAURITIUS

*** Our colleagues write and assure us that our Mauritius colleagues are going to set up a journalists body. AAJA will do in its power to help towards its formation.**

ZAMBIA

*** "Everything possible wil be made to see that both the magazine and the AAJA are kept informed of what is happening here — Thanking you very much for the coverage you have given to the activities of those still in the struggle — Angola, S. Africa, Sauthern Rhodesia etc. your magabine — our magazine — is different from others. It is a tool of the Afro-Asian peoples struggle. Please preserve it that way". These encouraging and moving words come from our colleague Moses Makwaya, editor "Voice of Unip" — Zambia.**

I.O.J.

*** At a recent meeting of the Presidium and Executive Committee meeting of the I.O.J. a gross interference in the affairs of and various attacks on the AAJA took place. But as colleague Mamadou Gologo, Malian Secretary of the Secretariat of the AAJA, quite rightly pointed out — that membrship of the AAJA will be and can only be decided by the Association itself, and that it was irrelevant for the I.O.J. even to discuss the AAJA. That is our attitude. We are really surprised at this attitude of a fraternal organisation, as we have endeavoured to co-operate closely with the I.O.J. However our efforts have been spurned and rather we have been viciously attacked. Is this the attitude of fraternal anti-imperialist/anti colonialist journalists' associations ? What is vary interesting is that this anti imperialists/anti colonialists journalists association in its Secretariat report nowhere and not once mentions or attacks USA imperialism — rather it attacks an anti-imperialist/anti colonialists journalists' Association like the AAJA ? Who has now become the common enemy ?**

AAMM II

*** The Secretariat sent a cable welcoming and a cable congratulating the MMAA II. We assured the meeting that we as AA journalists would do all to help make the next Bandung Conference a success.**

MALI

*** An informative book on China, has just been written by our AAJA secretary colleague Mamadou Gologo, who is Secretary of State of Information and Tourism of Mali, as well as President of the National Union of Journalists' of Mali. It renders a true and vivid account of the achievements of People's China — is a must for an objective account of People's China. Colleague Gologo has named it "La Chine un peuple geant au grand destin"**

AAFF III

*** The AAJA warmly congratulates the AAFF III for the successful conclusion of the Third Confernce. The Communique and the film Awards is a clear manifestation of the high artistic and political criterion which governed the attitude of the Conference as a whole.**

The Secretariat of AAJA, together with the Indonesian National Committee of the AAFF III, produced a daily News Bulletin "Afro-Asian News", which was very popular among the delegates. This close collaboration between the AAFF III and AAJA is a clear indication of the Unity of purpose and action that binds us jiurnalists and film artistists. We have a very limited number of copies in hand, but are prepared to part with some.

PAKISTAN

* At the recent annual congress of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists — resolutions reaffirming support to the AAJA were unammously passed.

The congress passed another resolution saluting the heroic struggle of the people of Angola, Aden, Palestine and other parts of Asia and Africa, who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonalism.

The resolution confirmed the desire to cement close cooperation among Afro-Asian journalists to win and preserve national independence, to promote economic, social and cultural development and to struggle for the preservation of democratic rights.

Our warm wishes of support and congratulation for a successful congress to our Pakistan colleagues.

the Afro-Asian Journalist

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